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THE

JULY 1955

ISLAMIC REVIEW

FOUNDED BY
THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

WOKING ENGLAND



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Between Ourselves

THE COVER

The picture on the cover is a panoramic view of Jerusalem, Jordan, with the Dome of the Rock in the centre of the foreground.

The Dome of the Rock was built during the reign of the Omayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwan, in 691 C.E. This is one of the two oldest and most beautiful specimens of Muslim architecture, the other being the Grand Mosque of Damascus, Syria, that have remained intact till today.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

A. Bennigsen is a French scholar of Russian extraction and an authority on Muslims in Russia.

G. Neville-Bagot, an Irishman, is a journalist. He is keenly interested in political trends in the world of Islam.

"M. E. M." are the initials of an Arab lawyer and journalist.

'Ali Ibn Talib (d. 661 C.E.) is one of the first four Caliphs after the Prophet Muhammad, styled in Muslim history "*al-Khulafa al-rashidun*" — the rightly-guided Caliphs. Professor P. Hitti in his *History of the Arabs*, London, 1940, describes the character of 'Ali in the following words: "Valiant in battle, wise in counsel, eloquent in speech, true to his friends, magnanimous to his foes, he became the paragon of Moslem nobility and chivalry (*futuwwah*) and the Solomon of Arabic tradition, around whose name poems, proverbs, sermonettes and anecdotes have clustered."

With the death of 'Ali came the end of the republican form of government in Islam.

Muhammad al-Tanji, a Moroccan Muslim, is a scholar of repute in Muslim North Africa.

The Sheikh al-Hajj 'Omar Fye, O.B.E., J.P., is a Gambian Muslim scholar.

W. B. Bashyr Pickard, B.A.(Cantab.), an English Muslim, is author of several books on Islam. He also writes fiction and poems.

The Islamic Review

JULY : 1955

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Annual Subscription Rs. 16/12, post free ; single copies Rs. 1/11

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The Islamic Review

Founded by THE LATE AL-HAJJ KHAWAJA KAMAL-UD-DIN

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking,

Telephone: WOKING 679 Surrey, England

Telegrams and Cables: MOSQUE, WOKING

London Office:

18 Eccleston Square, Victoria, London, S.W.1

Telephone: VIC. 2591

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

خُذْهُ وَنُصَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولِهِ الْكَرِيمِ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ

"Muhammad is . . . the Messenger of God and the Last of the Prophets . . ." — THE HOLY QUR'AN 33 : 40
"There will be no Prophet after me" — THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

VOL. XLIII No. 7

JULY, 1955

Zu 'l-Qa'dah—Zu 'l-Hijjah, 1374 A.H.

ALGERIAN INDEPENDENCE, A CHALLENGE TO WORLD DEMOCRACY

FRENCH CLAIMS FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALGERIA ARE WILDLY UNREALISTIC AND OUTDATED

Since November 1954, Algeria¹ has been in open revolt. The restriction placed on the Algerian nationalist leader in enforced exile in France, al-Hajj Ahmad Messali, the mass arrests and military operations of over 100,000 French troops and police in Algeria have failed to stop the revolt. Since 1st November 1954 to 25th June 1955, 302 Algerian patriots have been killed, 49 wounded and 349 made prisoner by the French authorities. As against this during the self-same period, the patriots have killed 105 French soldiers and wounded 159. The patriots have also killed 129 French civilians and pro-French Algerian Muslims. As in Morocco, at present at least five people are being killed each day. The Algerian Liberation Army is hitting back in the mountainous districts of the Aures and the Kabyle territory. In fact, the predominantly Berber districts are the centres of the revolt, which belies the claim of the French imperialists that the Berbers are faithful to France and that nationalism in North Africa is the work of a small number of Arab or Arabic-speaking intellectuals.

It is now 125 years since the troops of the arch-reactionary French king, Charles X, under Marshal Bourmont, invaded the Algerian Regency. The French used as a pretext the alleged insult offered to France by the ruling Dey Husain, whom they accused of having hit the French Consul Deval with a fan or fly-swatter. The Dey, according to Sir Robert Lambert Playfair, the author of the famous book, *The Scourge of Christendom*, was a peace-loving individual. Sir Robert considered that this incident was most likely an invention of the French Consul, who was plotting with two Algerian Jews, Bacri and Busnach, for an invasion of Algeria.

After the French conquest, promises to respect Islam were frequently violated, and mosques were turned into Roman Catholic churches and at least in one case into a

synagogue. For more than ten years the Sherif or Sultan of the Hashim tribesmen, 'Abd al-Kadir Ibn Mohiy al-Din, resisted the French, who spent £2,000,000 in a war to defeat him and lost 40,000 French soldiers. The French were even forced to sign a treaty with him (at Tafna in 1837), but once they had disposed of the Bey of Constantine, Ahmad, in Eastern Algeria, after a heroic resistance in the town of that name, they treated this treaty as a scrap of paper and a war of extermination was carried out. The Marshal Saint-Arnaud even caused the death of Algerian women and children by suffocation in the cave refuges.

In 1871 an army of 200,000 Algerians under the Bachagha of the Medjana al-Mokrani was only suppressed by a French army of 80,000. Over a million acres of the best lands of the Algerians were confiscated and they were forced to pay an indemnity of over £1,500,000. In 1881 another important revolt took place under Bou Amama, the Marabout leader of the Ouled Sheikh tribe. The Algerian Sahara was not conquered until 1900.

The French expropriated the best lands so that the landed Algerians of today average less than 5 acres of poor

1 The total area of Algeria, including the Algerian Sahara regions, is 2,191,400 square kilometres, of which the Tell covers 136,000 square kilometres, the Steppe 188,900 square kilometres, and the Sahara 1,866,500 square kilometres. Only 668,537 people lived in the Steppe in 1947-8 and 625,000 in the Sahara regions, while 7,388,248 lived in the Tell region. Until 1947 the Sahara region was administered as military territories without any semblance of democracy, when in that year it received nominal departmental status as a so-called part of Metropolitan France. Another scheme to form all the French controlled Sahara regions in Africa into one independent French-owned State has been opposed by the French Algerian settlers, who wish to keep their section for themselves. It should also be noted that 53 per cent of the Muslim population is under twenty years, yet the total number of children at school, including all the European children, is only about 400,000.

land, whereas the best coastal belt land in the West and in the Province of Constantine, which is known as the Tell, is largely in the hands of the 960,000 French colonials, who have planted a million acres of land with vineyards and have forced the Algerians to work as *fellaheen* to produce wine, an outrage to Islam. The result is that in years of famine Algerians, who formerly exported grain, have starved to death, as, for instance, in 1944-5.

It is true, the French have built modern European cities, but in the town of Algiers the Muslims are virtually confined to the Kasbah or Madina. Over 3,000,000 tons of iron ore are produced per annum, but this is largely in the hands of a French company known as the Ouenza Company. Phosphates and coal produced in the South, wine, and the export of dates, are all in French hands. As to the Algerian civil servants, they are lucky to get a job as doormen, in spite of the existence of an emerging Arab intelligentsia. The only rich Muslims are the "yes-men" or, as they are styled in Arabic, *Beni-Oui-Oui*, meaning the Children of Yes-Yes, who have sold themselves to the French administration, who rob the people and abuse their positions as Caid and their subordinates, whose power only extends over the Muslim people. Of the 2,250,000 Algerians at work, over 1,775,000 work on the land. There is a large section of permanently unemployed as well as a mass seasonal unemployment. The unemployed form the spearhead of the present revolt against the French. It is worth remarking here that the Algerian Nationalist Movement, the MTLN, of al-Hajj Ahmad Messali, was formed largely out of the ranks of some 300,000 Algerian workmen who have migrated to France and many of whom live in filthy hovels.

In spite of the attacks on Islam and the Arabic language, Algerian nationalism emerged in a modern form in the twentieth century. In this connection some names spring to one's mind. The great Muslim intellectual, the Shaikh Ben Badis, and his successor, the Shaikh Bashir Ibrahim, who have led the Algerian 'Ulema movement along with the well-known writer, Tewfik Madani, who has written a history of Algeria from the Muslim standpoint. Ben Badis and Messali have asserted the existence of an Algerian nation. Another leader, Ferhat 'Abbas, who after trying to obtain justice and equality from the French as a French subject, soon came to the conclusion that Algeria must be a separate republic. He and his supporters founded the UDMA party and published a memorable "Magna Charta" for Algeria known as the Algerian Manifesto. Although the Rashidis and a descendant of 'Abd al-Kader, the Emir Khalid, started political nationalist movements, it was left to Ahmad Messali to form the well-known movements — the North African Star, the Algerian People's Party, and the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties — organizations which were to sweep Metropolitan France and Algeria from 1936 onwards when Messali returned to Algeria. Arrest and the vilest tortures have never damped Messali's movements, which have been forced to work underground. Though Northern Algeria is administered by a French Governor-General under the French Minister of the Interior, though the people there should by rights enjoy the same rights as the French in Metropolitan France, the fact is that the Muslims, who number in Algeria possibly 8,500,000, only have a parliamentary representation of 13 instead of over 100. Even these 13 are French stooges, as since 1951 no real nationalist

has been elected owing to fraudulent returns and government terrorism. As to the Algerian Assembly, only Ferhat 'Abbas and a few of his intelligent and able moderate supporters have been returned, as against 30 French colonials and over 20 *Beni-Oui-Ouis*.

In Algeria of today a young generation of heroes has emerged. As these are arrested, more and more will emerge. Algerian Muslim nationalism has reached such a stage that it cannot be eradicated save by the complete extermination of the Algerian people, the which act of barbarism the outside world would never permit. The Algerian revolt in the Kabyle district is apparently led by Karim Belkasem. Other leaders are Bitat Rabah, now under arrest in Algiers, Yusef Saadi, recently deported from Belgium and now under arrest, Ben Boulaid Mustafa in the Aures mountains, Ben Hamidi Larbi in Oran, Western Algeria, Dicouche Murad in the northern part of the Province of Constantine. The other leaders of the party, according to the French daily, *Le Monde*, are Bodella, known as Mezziani, Ait Ahmad, known as Said Farhi, and Boudiaf, known as Muhammad Dridd. Ultimately when the history of Algeria comes to be written, some of these names will be associated with the great names of North Africa — the Emirs 'Abd al-Kader and 'Abd al-Karim, Bourguiba of Tunisia, Messali and 'Allal al-Fasi.

Concern is being shown in informed circles that the French NATO troops are being withdrawn from Europe to carry out operations in Algeria. It is rumoured that the United States is uneasy about the legal position of France in Algeria. At the Bandung Conference all the delegates hailed the message sent by the exiled Messali. In view of these considerations the American and British statesmen who wish to make the NATO an effective instrument of Western defence will do well to read the recent statement by the former Messalist deputy to the French Parliament, Muhammad Khider, in which he points out that the NATO for the Algerians is an instrument of French imperialist oppression in Algeria, where all arms are turned against the legitimate struggle of the Algerian people, who are following the normal process of evolution which has resulted in independence in Libya and limited home rule in Tunisia, and which must now be extended to Algeria and Morocco.

The underground paper of the Messalists, *La Voix du Peuple*, for 1st June 1955, contests the allegation of the French imperialists who are saying that the Algerian revolution is Communist-led. It says that the United States regards the non-Communist nationalist movements with indifference, which helps the colonial powers, for they get American arms which are used by them against the uprisings in those colonies. It is in our opinion high time the United States openly opposed French imperialism in North Africa. The American trade unions have already helped their Tunisian and Moroccan brothers and the Algerian people, most of whom are workmen and *fellaheen* equally worthy of support. French colonialism after the appalling murder of the courageous pro-Muslim French editor of *Maroc-Presse* by French counter terrorists in Casablanca is utterly discredited in France and in the outside world. The Algerians will never submit to French rule. They are showing their hatred by boycotting tobacco and burning the vineyards and smashing up Algerian Muslim cafés in France where alcohol is served.

اللَّهُ

نُورُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ

(God is the Light of the Heavens and Earth)

‘ALI’S OBITER DICTA

Compiled by Zafra! Haq Khan

1. *Fear God, and you will have no cause to fear anyone else.*
2. *Resist yourself, and you shall have peace.*
3. *The fear of God purifies the heart.*
4. *The best riches are those employed in the service of God.*
5. *Resignation to the Divine Will is the healing of the heart.*
6. *The disease of the heart is in concupiscence.*
7. *A man's behaviour is the index of the man; and his discourse is the index of his understanding.*
8. *The coin of the miser is as worthless as a pebble.*
9. *A single offence counts for much, a thousand services for very little.*
10. *The remembrance of youth is a sigh.*
11. *The sight of a friend brightens the eye.*
12. *Honour your father, and your son will honour you.*
13. *The enjoyment and delight of life consists in security.*
14. *The order of a wise man is the highest of orders.*
15. *Thy lot (or portion of life) is seeking after you; therefore be at rest from seeking after it.*
16. *The restraining of the soul (or self) from its appetite, is the greatest holy war.*
17. *Consider well the consequences, and you shall escape from all false steps.*
18. *The favour of God is the greatest of all ends to be obtained.*
19. *The favour of God is joined to obedience to Him.*
20. *Your delight in yourself arises from the corruption of your understanding.*
21. *Your delight in the world arises from the badness of your choice, and the misery of your labour.*
22. *He delights in contempt who confides his grievance to another.*
23. *The showing of mercy to the afflicted brings down mercy.*
24. *He delights in disappointment who depends upon bad men for his subsistence.*
25. *I delight more in the determination (or opinion) of a religious (learned in faith) man than in his strength.*
26. *The control of your appetites will procure you riches.*
27. *The control of the appetites cuts off men's observation.*
28. *A man's advice is the proof of his understanding.*
29. *Every man's portion is as much determined as his latter end.*
30. *A man's advice is according to the measure of his experience.*
31. *A man's subsistence is according to what he proposeth, i.e., according to his management; because every action of his life tends to something or other which contributes either to increasing or diminishing him. Not that this can be affirmed of every action considered abstractedly, but as it connects those actions together which necessarily tend to the determining of a man's condition of life.*

32. *Gentle behaviour and liberality procure the love even of your enemies.*
33. *A man's messenger is the interpreter of his meaning ; but his letter is of more efficacy than his discourse.*
34. *The Messengers of God (may He be praised) are the interpreters of the truth, and the ambassadors between the Creator and the creature.*
35. *The delight of the servant in himself is inseparable from the displeasure of his master.*
36. *Consider before you do anything, and you shall not be blamed in what you do.*
37. *The glittering ornaments of the world spoil weak understandings.*
38. *Liberality produces love.*
39. *The performance of promises causes unity.*
40. *Abstinence is the pathway of pure religion.*
41. *Concupiscence is the forerunner of certain destruction.*
42. *Trust in God is the cause of pure faith.*
43. *Desire tends to the destruction of the understanding.*
44. *The love of the present world is the source of misery.*
45. *Infidelity is the cause of the removal of God's blessing.*
46. *Giving way to anger is the cause of destruction.*
47. *Good education is the cause of a refined disposition.*
48. *Gentleness of behaviour causes esteem.*
49. *The power of religion enforces abstinence.*
50. *Thankfulness engenders increase.*
51. *For the soul to be employed about what shall not accompany it after death, is the greatest weakness.*
52. *To depend upon everyone without distinction, is weakness of understanding.*
53. *He is the man of understanding, who overcomes his appetite, and will not sell his world to come for his present world.*
54. *He is the cunning man, who looks more narrowly after himself than other people.*
55. *It is fear which withholds the soul from sin, and restrains it from transgression.*
56. *He is a prudent man, who restrains his tongue from detraction.*
57. *He is a believer, who purifies his heart from doubt.*
58. *Riches are a damage to the owner, except that part of them which he sends before him.*
59. *The world is the shadow of a cloud, and the dream of a sleep.*
60. *The works of the truly pious are pure, their eyes weeping, and their hearts trembling.*
61. *The souls of the truly pious are contented, and their appetites dead ; their countenances cheerful, and their hearts sorrowful.*
62. *The believer always remembers God, and is full of thought ; he is thankful in prosperity, and patient in adversity.*
63. *Partnership in possession leads to confusion : partnership in counsel leads to the right way.*
64. *Knowledge calls out to practice ; and if it answers, well ; if not, it goes away.*
65. *The things of this life proceed by divine decree, not by our administration.*
66. *There are two sorts of patience ; the one, by which we bear up in adversity, which is fine and beautiful ; but the other, that by which we withstand the commission of evil, is better.*
67. *A man's entertaining a mean opinion of himself is a demonstration of the gravity of his understanding, and a branch of the abundance of his excellence.*
68. *A man's admiring himself is a demonstration of his deficiency, and a branch of the weakness of his understanding.*
69. *He that firmly believes in a future state is, upon his own account, the most melancholy man of all men in the world.*
70. *He that perishes, is one that busies himself beside himself, and whose today is worse than his yesterday.*
71. *He is your true friend, who takes care of you as himself, and prefers you to his riches, children and wife.*
72. *He is a wise man, who can govern himself both in his anger, desire, and fear.*
73. *Weeping out of the fear of God enlightens the heart, and fortifies against the return of sin.*
74. *Opportunity is swift of flight, slow of return.*
75. *To make one good action constantly succeed another is the perfection of goodness.*
76. *Patience in poverty, with a good reputation, is better than a plentiful maintenance with contempt.*
77. *A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.*
78. *A man's affliction is the forerunner of his prosperity.*
79. *Men are more like the time they live in than they are like their fathers.*
80. *A man that knows the just value of himself does not perish.*
81. *The value of every man is the good which he does.*
82. *He that knows himself, knows his Lord.*
83. *A man is hid under his tongue.*
84. *No praise with pride.*
85. *Innocence is incompatible with covetousness.*
86. *There is no rest where there is envy.*
87. *It concerns you more to flee from yourself, than from a lion.*
88. *He that has no courage, has no religion.*
89. *A wise man is never poor.*
90. *There is no generosity in a liar.*
91. *He that is fearful, will be secure at his journey's end.*

92. *No health with gluttony.*
93. *No generosity of spirit with a bad education.*
94. *A man governs his people by doing them good.*
95. *The tongue of a wise man lies behind his heart.*
96. *The heart of a fool lies behind his tongue.*
97. *The complaisance of a fool is like a garden in a dung-hill.*
98. *Impatience is more irksome than patience.*
99. *He that pursues that which is not suitable for him, loses that which is suitable for him.*
100. *A man that is given to jesting will never fail of hatred nor contempt.*
101. *Despair is a free man, hope is a slave.¹*
102. *The opinion of a wise man is as an oracle.*
103. *Enmity is business enough.*
104. *A covetous man does not live.*
105. *His life is long whose labour is short.*
106. *The pursuit of good education is better than the pursuit of riches.*
107. *His grief is long whose hope is short.*
108. *Happy is he that has no family.*
109. *It is better that kings should be unjust, than mean-spirited.*
110. *The thirst after wealth is greater than the thirst after drink.*
111. *He cheats you who makes you angry about a trifle.*
112. *A man's glory from his virtue is greater than the glory of his pedigree.*
113. *Your victory over your enemy is your forbearance.*
114. *The freedom of a man consists in speaking truth.²*
115. *The strength of the heart is from the soundness of the faith.*
116. *The word of God is the medicine of the heart.*
117. *Death will rid you of the faults of the world.*
118. *There is a cure for all enmity but the enmity of the envious man.*
119. *Being acquainted with bad men is going to sea.*
120. *He that holds his peace does not repent.*
121. *He that gives a listening ear to reproach is one of those that deserve reproach.*
122. *Your being angry is reproachful before God.*
123. *The praise of a man is under his tongue.*
124. *The conversation of young men is destructive of religion.*
125. *A learned conversation is the garden of paradise.*
126. *The destruction of a man is the vehemency of his temper.*
127. *The forgetfulness of death is the rust of the heart.*
128. *The light of your heart is in prayer in the darkness of the night.*
129. *The greyness of your head is the news of your own death.*
130. *Trust in God is the believer's castle.*
131. *Holy wars³ are the pillars of religion, and the highways of the happy: and to those that are engaged in them, the gates of heaven shall be open.*
132. *Repentance purifies the heart, and washes away sin.*
133. *Mankind is divided into two parts or sorts: the one seeks, and does not find; the other finds, and is not contented.*
134. *The good man lives, though he be translated to the mansions of the dead.*
135. *The abstinence from evil is better than doing good.*
136. *Knowledge is the ornament of the rich, and the riches of the poor.*
137. *He that omits practice has not sufficient faith in the reward annexed to it.*
138. *Clemency in power is a defence against the vengeance of God.*
139. *The reverence of God blots out a great many sins.*
140. *Resignation to the providence of God makes the greatest afflictions easy.*
141. *Quarrelling discovers a man's folly, but adds nothing to the truth of his cause.*
142. *Truth is the conformity of speech to the end for which God ordained it.*
143. *A lie is perverting language from the end for which God ordained it.*
144. *Adversity makes no impression upon a brave soul.*
145. *Trust in God is a castle of defence to him that flees to it.*
146. *Impatience under affliction is worse than the affliction.*
147. *That man has a brave soul who abstaineth from things unlawful, and keepeth at a distance from what is criminal.*
148. *Covetousness is the head of poverty, and the foundation of wickedness.*
149. *A deceiver's tongue is sweet, and his heart bitter.*
150. *Perfection consists of three things: patience in affliction, moderation in our pursuits, and assisting him who asks.*
151. *A wise man knows a fool, because he has formerly been ignorant himself; but a fool does not know a wise man, because he never was wise himself.*
152. *The believer is always cautious of his sins; he dreads temptation, and hopes for the mercy of his Lord.*

1 So long as a man is in expectation, his thoughts are in suspense, and he is in a slavish condition; but as soon as he gives over his pursuit, he is free and at liberty.

2 Not that a man is obliged to speak every truth that he knows or believes, but that a habit of speaking truth, as it flows from, so that it naturally supports, a generosity and freedom of spirit.

3 That is, wars undertaken for the support of religion, i.e., Islam.

4 Modesty is not here to be understood in opposition to unchasteness; but as proper deportment.

153. *Religion is a tree, the root of which is faith; the branch, the fear of God, the flower, modesty,⁴ and the fruit, generosity of spirit.*
154. *Anger is a fire kindled: he that restrains it, puts it out; but he that lets it loose, is the first that is consumed by it.*
155. *Folly is an incurable disease.*
156. *The love of those whose friendship is fixed on the Most High, remains as long as the cause of it: but as for the friends of this present world, their love is broken off as soon as the causes of it cease.*
157. *A fool does not know what makes him look little; neither will he hearken to him that advises him.*
158. *Riches, without God, are the greatest poverty and misery.*
159. *Liberality and fortitude are noble things; which God gives to him whom He loves and makes trial of.*
160. *That man travels the longest journey, who undertakes the search of a sincere friend.*
161. *He is the greatest of all fools that does no good, and would yet be respected; and does that which is evil, and yet expects the reward of the good.*
162. *The most odious of men to the most high God is he whose thoughts are fixed upon his belly and his lust.*
163. *The most happy man, as to this life, is he whom God has given the wherewithal to be content, and a good wife.*
164. *He is the most able man who does justice upon himself without anyone else to judge him.*
165. *That man best deserves a kindness⁵ who, when he is put off, bears it patiently; when he is refused, excuses it; and when he receives it, is thankful.*
166. *The diligence of the world is idleness; the honour of it, vileness; the height of it, lowness.*
167. *He that walks upon the back of the earth is going into its belly.⁵*
168. *A believer should be ashamed when any action passes him which his religion does not oblige him to do.*
169. *Justice is the balance of God, which He has set for men; wherefore do not contradict Him in His balance, nor oppose Him in His dominion.*

⁵ By the back of the earth is meant the outside; by the belly, the grave.

THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

III. STEADFASTNESS

In worlds of mutability one rock is found,
In seething seas of chance and change
One steadfast pillar stands, one vantage ground,
Uprising, shed its ray of hope around.

What is that light that from the pillar shines?
'Tis *Steadfastness*; and all who steadfast are
In righteousness have seized the rope
Of mighty hope
That God with strands of good eternally entwines.

To do good, then to weary, that is not the way.
When hardship comes and the black vulture swoops
Of evil, tearing sharply at our heart,
Then! then! we must persist and not depart
One atom from the path, though droops
The flow'r of all our feeling, fainting by the way.
Let us then, rising up, with steadfast voice declare:
"None but the unbelievers of God's mercies do despair!"

WILLIAM BASHYR PICKARD.

ERRATA

II. THE GARDEN OF CONTENTMENT

- Page 12. 1: 3—For perfect read perfection.
1: 13—For himself read oneself.

ON THE PAYMENT OF ZAKAT

An Examination of the *Nisab* Theory

By Muhammad al-Tanji

Modern public demands and the Islamic social system

As a social system Islam is well fitted for the introduction of advanced civilization, so long as that civilization falls within the Islamic definition of what is wholly or predominantly advantageous for the community. It also imposes upon Muslims the duty of working to ward off and prevent what is wholly or predominantly harmful, so long as their efforts are exerted within the limits of justice and virtue, which are the twin aims of Islamic legislation. This is the real basis for establishing the legality of the actions of Muslim rulers, in accordance with God's direction when He says: "Do not interfere with the property of the orphans except to improve it" (The Qur'an, 17:34), and with the Prophet's saying, "He who has some charge from my people, and does not strive for their well-being, nor advise them loyally, Paradise will be forbidden him". The interests of the nation as a whole, being public interest and of primary importance, deserve more careful attention than the private interests of orphans. It follows therefore that there is nothing to prevent the Muslim ruler from compelling the people to co-operate financially in the matter of land, sea and air communications. He may build roads, railways and airports; he may arrange all that is necessary for these concerns; he may impose taxes upon all who benefit from these public works, be they owners of cars, of ships or of aeroplanes, or even pedestrians and those who own animals for transport. The same applies to public health services and other necessary public works such as ensuring public order by means of the police, or street-lighting, or the collection of refuse or the building of drains for the disposal of sewage. The cost of all these amenities and public services is to be borne by those who benefit from them, in accordance with the principles of justice, as they operate in the field of communal endeavour for the general good. If one thought that Islam did not allow this system, then communications would deteriorate, dirt would accumulate and epidemics would spread; there would be no security in the land, for in the absence of policemen theft would increase, cleanliness and purity, the two virtues enjoined on Muslims by Islam, would be lost. These corruptions need to be prevented and guarded against. Islam, as its legislative principles are flexible, can produce a most advanced and powerful community, having as its foundation the principles of justice, sound morals and public goodwill.

The views of some famous Muslim jurists regarding *Nisab* militate against the very spirit of the *Zakat* tax

The object of this article is to expound the views of one section among the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, friends of the Companions and some Imams, with regard to the system of *Zakat*.

When one examines the opinions of famous Muslim jurists in Muslim countries on the subject of the great social institution of Islam, *Zakat*, one might think that this system of *Zakat* was deficient in meeting the requirements of today. The viewpoint that we wish to subject to an examination is the one concerning the wealth that accrues from wages, rents and produce, and has amounted to the fixed minimum, called in Arabic *Nisab*, at which it becomes liable to the payment of *Zakat*. The opinion of the majority of the jurists of the famous schools of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) is that this

wealth is profit which, it is stipulated, must remain in the possession of its owner for a full year before it becomes liable to *Zakat* on it.

Now it is clear that this contention that the period of one full year must elapse before the acquired wealth becomes liable to the *Zakat* tax gives rise to a situation in which large property or wealth becomes exempt while the *Zakat* can only be imposed on small wealth, and that the system of *Zakat* in Islam fails to tax the wealth of *rentiers*, which according to modern fiscal practices ought to be liable to the *Zakat* tax. It need hardly be said that this obviously militates against the wisdom of imposing the *Zakat* tax on the wealth of the rich, which can well bear levelling out; it harms the interest of the weak and the poor and injures a noble cause, that of expenditure on God's purposes.

We shall take an example to illustrate this point. A man owning a piece of land which he sows with wheat reaps a harvest of 20 *qintars*.¹ Now, according to the Muslim schools of jurisprudence, the *Zakat* leviable on harvest is one-tenth of the produce, that is 2 *qintars*. But if the self-same owner lets his land for a rent of £20 which he spends before one full year has elapsed, then, according to the school which says that a full year's possession of the *Nisab* is a prerequisite for liability to *Zakat*, he is not liable to pay *Zakat* on that rent. If the self-same person builds a hundred houses on the aforesaid piece of land and lets each house at a rent of £5 per month, his income from these houses will be £6,000 per year. Now the school which stipulates the passing of one full year on the possession of the *Nisab* puts forward the argument that if the owner spends this income before a full year has elapsed, he is not liable to *Zakat* at all. Al-Hattab, a propounder of this school, says, quoting al-Jawahir: "He who hires a property in order to sublet it becomes liable to the *Zakat* on his income after a full year's possession of that original property. The income from what has been bought, either to be let or to be kept, is profit on which the prerequisite of a full year's possession applies. The same is true of the income accruing from what has been bought for trade: but another view is that it becomes liable to *Zakat* at the end of a full year from the original purchase".

Muslim jurists who do not accept the *Nisab* theory

Now although the Muslims have continued to observe this rule (i.e., the necessity of the lapse of one full year in possession either of the *Nisab* or of income), especially in recent times when people have been too miserly to pay *Zakat*, even when it is clear from authoritative tradition of the Prophet Muhammad that they ought to pay it, there is no proved tradition of the Prophet Muhammad to this effect. Ibn Rushd says in *Bidayat al-Mujtahid*: "As to the time of *Zakat*, the majority of jurists state as a prerequisite for liability to *Zakat* on gold, silver and cattle the year (i.e., the passing of one year in possession thereof), because this is known to have been the practice of the four Caliphs; because, too, it was common practice among the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad; because it has been generally accepted; and because of their belief that such

¹ One *qintar* equals 1 lb.

wide and undisputed acceptance could not arise without authority. It is related in a tradition of Ibn 'Umar about the Prophet Muhammad that the Prophet said, 'No wealth is liable to *Zakat* until a full year has elapsed over it'. There is a general agreement upon this by all the Muslim jurists, and there was no dispute about it in early Islam except that which has been related about Ibn 'Abbas and Mu'awiya; the reason for the dispute was that there was no proved tradition on this point."

In speaking about the aforesaid tradition of Ibn 'Umar, al-Hafidh Ibn Hajar al-Haitami (d. 1263 C.E.) says, "This tradition is probably sound". But Ibn Hajar has also shown that the addition of the conditions of a year's period in a saying of 'Ali is defective or weak. The author of *Bulugh al-Maram* says: "The tradition indicates that no property is liable to *Zakat* until after the lapse of a year." This is the opinion of the majority, but there is some dispute over it originating from some of the Prophet's Companions and their friends. For some maintain that the passing of a year is not stipulated, because in the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad which lays down that land regularly flooded by a river is liable to one-fortieth, there are no reservations. To this, the answer that is made is that this tradition itself and the illustrations of it show that they are restrictive in application. But the Imam Malik did not stipulate the lapse of a year for accrued profit, nor for the product of sheep and goats. And thus this tradition was not applied in every instance. Al-Hattab mentions, when discussing Khalil's words in the *Mudawwana*, "and the profit is added to the capital," the following: "Ibn al-Qasim said, 'If a man has ten dinars and trades with them so that one day before a year has elapsed they become twenty, he is liable to pay *Zakat* on them, since a year has elapsed over them. This is because the profits of money are part of the money and the year for the profits is the same as the year for the capital — whether or not the capital originally contained the profit, as in the case of sheep giving birth'." In Ibn Rushd's *Bidayat al-Mujtahid* is quoted the comment of 'Abu 'Ubaid on this statement of the Imam Malik: "'Abu 'Ubaid says: 'No jurist, save his own friends, followed his interpretation here'. In fact, Ibn Malik followed the tradition of Ibn 'Umar concerning the stipulation of a year's interval in so far as property is concerned; but where profits and cattle produce were concerned, he followed those who did not stipulate that interval."

Companions of the Prophet Muhammad who did not accept the *Nisab* theory

We find from our researches that among the Prophet's Companions there were two schools of thought followed on the subject of income. Al-Hafidh Abu Muhammad Ibn Hazm says: "It is known that Ibn 'Abbas believed that *Zakat* was liable on all property as soon as it was possessed by a Muslim. But it is equally known of Ibn 'Umar that he said, 'It is not liable to *Zakat* until after the lapse of a year over it'."

Ibn Hazm says, "Among those who are said to have believed in quick payment of *Zakat* on income are Ibn Mas'ud, Mu'awiya, 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, al-Hasan and al-Zahri; and among those who are known to have said that no *Zakat* was liable on property until after the lapse of a year are 'Ali, Abu Bakr, 'The Mother of the Faithful' 'A'isha, and Ibn 'Umar'."

In fact that exaction of *Zakat* on income was enforced in two of the most glorious periods of Islamic history, namely, that of Mu'awiya and that of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. In his reply to the followers of the Maliki school

of law, who argued that they were following the practice of Mu'awiya, Ibn Hazm says, "They went contrary to Mu'awiya's practice of exacting *Zakat* on the allowances, in which practice Ibn Mas'ud agreed with Mu'awiya (he means the allowances given to soldiers, for Mu'awiya used to deduct the *Zakat* from them when they were given to the soldiers). Likewise 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz believed in imposing the *Zakat* on income at the time it was earned." After this we find the *Shaikh al-Islam*, Ibn Taimiyya, stating definitely: "*Zakat* is liable on all kinds of wages received, without any regard to the lapse of a year over them. This is a tradition from Ahmad, quoting Ibn 'Abbas'."

Now when we consider the spirit of Islam, the charity of Islam and the cohesive spirit of the Muslim community; when we consider the new practices, prevalent throughout the world, of exploiting houses, shops and hotels, which yield great sums of money from rents; when we consider this and observe that there is no proved statement in the Holy Book and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad that a year's interval is necessary before *Zakat* is liable on income, we venture to say that those who have considered these points will certainly find that the lofty spirit of Islam suggests to the believers that it is necessary that *Zakat* should be paid on incomes as and when they are earned. For the *Zakat* protects one's wealth and purifies those who own it. Let every property owner ask himself what course he is taking, and let him imagine himself dispossessed of his wealth, and others owning the property that is now his, and let him suppose that the interests which *Zakat* serves are his interests. Will he not then realize, when he considers the question from this aspect, that he is not doing his duty, and that he is unlawfully withholding his wealth?

"Those who treasure up gold and silver and do not spend them on God's purposes — to them give tidings of a painful punishment" (The Qur'an, 9:35).

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THE MUSLIM WORLD IN RETROSPECT

By "M.E.M."

LIBYA

King Idris of Libya has recently expressed the wish that his birthday shall no longer be the occasion of public celebration in his country. A Bill to this effect will shortly be presented to the Libyan Parliament, and will remove the King's birthday from the official list of public holidays in Libya.

Commenting on this wish, a Libyan newspaper, *Tarabuls al-Gharb*, said that the King wished to put a stop to the practice of celebrating birthdays — a practice which was

"alien to Islam". The paper added that neither the Prophet Muhammad nor any of the early Caliphs of Islam, celebrated their birthday as a public holiday for their subjects.

It will be remembered that the King of Libya, out of sheer modesty, not long ago waived the title of "Majesty" in his form of address. He also gave instructions for the alteration of the laws governing the status of the members of the Libyan royal family, seeking to remove many of the special privileges which they hitherto enjoyed.

PAKISTAN AND PALESTINE

An appreciation of the role played by Pakistan in supporting the Arabs against Zionism was recently revealed in a broadcast over Damascus radio. The following are extracts from the broadcast:

"Regardless of whether an Arab country agrees with the foreign policy of Pakistan, which advocates participation in Western defence systems, or leans more towards India's policy of strict neutrality between the two contending blocs, there can be little doubt that in one respect at least Pakistan's attitude in connection with the Palestine question has always been pro-Arab, worthy of full appreciation and in complete conformity with the line of policy to be expected from the largest Muslim country in the world. The former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Chaudhry Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, who is an authority on the Palestine question, was the leader of the fight put up by the Arab-Asiatic group of nations against the Zionist-sponsored United Nations' partition declaration of 1947. He has always been conscious of the growing aggressiveness of Israel, and urged the Muslim

world to unite against the intrigues of Zionism. . . .

"Pakistan has a special interest in the Palestine problem. The Muslims in Pakistan have a sentimental and religious attachment to Palestine and have always been strongly opposed to its partition and the creation of a Zionist State in it. Pakistan not only firmly opposed the dissection of Palestine by the United Nations, but has also not recognized Israel diplomatically, or permitted any official trade with it. Various Islamic organizations working in Pakistan have done much to mobilize public opinion in the country in support of the Arab viewpoint. At the United Nations, Pakistan thinks that a realistic and co-ordinated approach to Palestine by the Muslim brotherhood of nations can bear some fruitful results in awakening that world body to the great significance of Palestine to the Muslim world. Pakistan thinks that the United Nations should be made to realize that it must take bold action to lessen the mounting Arab-Israeli tension resulting from Zionist aggression, which threatens to disturb peace in the Middle East. . . ."

EGYPT

Economic stability and effort

Egypt's economy during 1954 has been marked by "stability and effort". The country has also made tremendous progress in improving its balance of payments. Except in the case of certain industries, the prospects of Egyptian industry were said to be "on the whole quite hopeful".

Amidst these favourable economic conditions, a number of large-scale development projects have finally taken shape in Egypt, and are about to be carried out. Some of these projects are now being realized. Priority has been given, with good reason, to the expansion of agricultural production and its related industries. A comprehensive development plan has been laid down which will materialize over several years. The plan covers the improvement of crops and the extension of irrigation projects as well as the more ambitious aim of increasing the cultivable area in the country by one quarter. The Egyptian Government has also devoted its attention to industrial development, and a number of schemes were studied and are being put in hand. To finance this development programme the Government wisely had recourse first to internal loans, of which three were recently floated and were covered with surprising rapidity, showing gratifying support from small investors. These loans, however, are considered insufficient to finance the vast develop-

ment programme proposed by the Government, and for this reason the participation of foreign capital remains essential, in spite of the appreciable grant of \$40,000,000 recently allocated to Egypt by the United States of America. The two main conditions governing the tasks that lie ahead, namely, the stability of the Egyptian currency and the maintenance of confidence in the eyes of foreign countries, are not being lost sight of by the Egyptian Government.

The problem of rising population

The report of the President of the National Bank of Egypt contained a word of warning and sound advice to the Egyptian Government — a word of advice from which nearly all the Muslim countries can benefit. The report drew attention to the need for continued efforts on a larger scale if the problem of the steady increase in population was to be tackled successfully. It said that in spite of the tangible increase in Egypt's agricultural and industrial production, the accompanying steady increase in the country's population is partially vitiating the benefit of this increased production in raising the general standard of living. Productivity must, therefore, be accelerated faster than hitherto. To realize this aim, the Government has prepared development projects covering four fields of activity: agriculture, industry, mining and communications. The total cost of these projects is

estimated at approximately £280,000,000, to be spread over ten years. It is expected that 80 per cent of this amount will be allotted to agricultural development, and 10 per cent to industry. The construction of the High Dam alone, which is one of the projects decided upon by the Egyptian Government, will cost £180,000,000. As a result of this project there will be an increased cultivable area of 1,300,000 *feddans*, and also the conversion to perennial irrigation of a further 700,000 *feddans*. To these figures must be added the appropriations for reclamation of the new land as well as

in this respect. It realizes full well that unless industrial expansion and the development of communications go hand in hand with agricultural development, the increase in the country's production will only serve to maintain the population's existing standard of living, which is already abnormally low by Western standards. But the leaders of Egypt's Revolution can be proud of what they have achieved so far, and they have high hopes of fulfilling their promises of a better future for the people of Egypt. What they have achieved so far proves two simple facts about the way to make a country



During his stay of two days on his return from Indonesia, the Egyptian Minister of State, Colonel Anwar Saadaat (who is also Secretary-General of World Muslim Congress, Mecca), was given a warm reception by the Muslims of Rangoon, Burma. Our photo shows the Egyptian Minister replying to an Address of Welcome at a tea party in his honour by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

Left to right: The Honourable U. Khin Maung Lat, Minister for Judicial Affairs and Health, Colonel Anwar Saadaat, Mr. Yoonoos H. V. Ladhia, M.A., LL.B. (President of the Chamber of Commerce of Burma), Mr A. Ghayur, Pakistan's Chargé d'Affaires, Seth A. Latif Ebrahim Bawany, a well-known Pakistani industrialist and philanthropist.

for schemes of reconstruction and public utilities, which are expected to exceed £100,000,000.

There is no doubt that the programme of development upon which the Egyptian Government has embarked is a vast one. The Government, however, is under no illusions

prosperous: first, you want honest leaders, and secondly, you need hard work. The lack of these two factors has been the only cause of the weakness and poverty of the Muslims all over the world. When they realize these facts, and face the problem, they will begin to tread the path that will lead to the alleviation of their misery, and retrieve their lost glory.

THE YEMEN "TURNS"

An alleged abdication

Strange and unexpected news infiltrated from San'a and Ta'iz in the Yemen early in April 1955. It was reported that the Imam Ahmad Ibn Yahya, the King of the Yemen, had "abdicated", and that his brother, the Amir 'Abdullah Ibn Yahya, who was the Foreign Minister of the Yemen, and who used to head his country's delegations to the United Nations, had been installed as king by "popular acclamation".

There followed a flood of conflicting news about this "abdication" episode. It was said that an uprising among the army of the Yemen had forced the Imam Ahmad to abdicate in favour of his brother, and that the brother was at the head of this uprising. Other reports said that the Imam Ahmad had voluntarily abdicated in favour of his brother for reasons of health. News from the Yemen itself, however, was scanty, and for a few days the world knew little about what was happening in this isolated country. But before long all these reports were proved to be wrong. It became known that an attempted *coup d'état* was planned and carried out by the Amir 'Abdullah and members of the Yemeni Court. And the reason behind the attempt to overthrow the Imam Ahmad was the desire to cause a drastic change in the foreign policy of the Yemen as well as in her domestic, economic,

social and other policies. Those who led this move, including the Amir 'Abdullah, brother of the Imam Ahmad, have now been summarily executed.

The Yemen of the Middle Ages

The Yemen is a country with an area of 75,000 square miles and a population of about 4,000,000. The country has for many years been governed in a fashion reminiscent of the early Middle Ages, or even of the time before that period. Nothing good at all can be said of such a system in the twentieth century. And it is a constant source of wonder to people all over the world how such a state of affairs has been allowed to exist in the Yemen, and how the hands of the clock have stood still for so many centuries there. The reason is very simple: the Yemen, thanks to its rulers, has been isolated entirely from the outside world in modern times. It is ruled by the Mutawakkiliyya dynasty, which derives its power over the people of the Yemen by its supposed descent from the Prophet Muhammad through the Caliph 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib. This royal and noble family has, in its wisdom, found protection, security, and a long and undisturbed reign, in the creation of a strong iron curtain around the Yemen, shutting out all foreign influence and keeping the inhabitants of the country completely ignorant of

what goes on in the outside world. It is said by some so-called Arab nationalists that one thing can be said to the credit of the Yemen's royal family, which will outweigh all things said against it. This precious source of pride for the royal family of the Yemen is supposed to be its success in keeping "imperialist exploiters" out. They mean by "imperialist exploiters" all foreign companies prospecting for oil or other minerals, and it is true that although the Imam Ahmad deviated a little from this rigid policy by granting a few limited concessions to some German companies to prospect for minerals in his country, this remains the policy of the powers-to-be in the Yemen, who are hostile to the idea of foreigners coming to their country. But is that a good policy to follow?

Why has this iron curtain been erected around the Yemen. There are some who say that the Yemen "wants to preserve its independence, and is afraid that imperialism would come in the trail of foreign economic concessions". That much, and more, was expressed by the late Imam Yahya (the father of the Imam Ahmad), who was reported to have addressed a public gathering of Yemeni notables who met to discuss the question of the grant of concessions to foreign companies to develop the Yemen's rich economic resources. He addressed them in these terms: "My dear countrymen: Do you want your religion reviled, and your women raped? Do you want the *kafir* (foreigners) to rule you, instead of the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad?" "No . . . ! and a thousand times 'No'" was the prompt answer of the wise men of the Yemen. "Then keep the imperialists and the exploiters out!" the Imam said. And so the matter of the foreign concessions was settled. The Imam had put the issue to his people in a queer way. He forgot to tell them that there are "concessionaires" and "concessionaires", and that with wise bargaining on the part of his Government such concessionaires would not be mere exploiters but would be bestowing benefits on the Yemen also. He knew how Sa'udi Arabia, for example, had handled this problem successfully. The Yemen cannot hope to develop its resources unaided. It must get the help of people who have the skill and the "know-how". But as long as these people are kept out, the rich treasures of the Yemen will continue to go to waste.

The "iron curtain" around the Yemen

The real reason behind the Yemenite royal family's determined stand against the infiltration of foreigners into the Yemen, and the travel of Yemenis abroad, is a very simple one. It does not want the people of the Yemen to have their eyes opened and see what goes on in the outside world, for fear that they might choose progress. No one could believe that the late Imam of the Yemen was sincere when he sought to defend his refusal to allow foreign companies to develop his country's resources. He certainly could not plead justification for his actions by using the Qur'an or the teachings of Islam. A benighted Yemen is certainly not more Muslim or righteous than an enlightened and prosperous Sa'udi Arabia, Egypt, Pakistan, Syria or any other modern Muslim country. The form of Islam practised in the Yemen and preached by the royal family there is something which is quite alien to the Islam in which the modern world of Islam believes. The late Imam, his son (the present monarch) and the royal family of the Yemen have sought, and are seeking, to use Islam as a tool to retard the progress and prosperity of their subjects. Islam, ever since the day of its appearance, has been a force for progress and advance.

And we hope that it will never be allowed to appear to sink to the level to which it has sunk in the Yemen.

Stories told about the Yemen today are often stranger than fiction. In this vast country there is only one doctor qualified by modern recognized standards, and three nurses. They all attend to the royal family. The Imam is a complete despot, and his ministers (who are all his relatives) hold their positions at his pleasure. There is no way in which the public will in the Yemen can find expression — no parliaments or national assemblies. The royal family possesses vast properties and untold wealth in gold and jewellery. There is no university or institute of higher modern studies in the Yemen. Teaching is confined mainly to a study of the Qur'an — according to the interpretations imposed by the wise Imam. No Yemeni subject is allowed to go abroad for education, for fear that his mind might get "corrupted". And the very few Yemenis who have been allowed to travel abroad are those attached to diplomatic missions or to delegations sent to the United Nations.

In February 1948 there was a short-lived *coup d'état* in the Yemen, and the Imam Yahya, the then ruling sovereign, was assassinated. His eldest son, the Amir Ahmad, later regained control and acceded to the throne. But the Yemen has seen little change during the reign of the Imam Ahmad. The only apparent difference between him and his father is the fact that the Imam Ahmad allows photographs to be taken of himself, while his father strictly forbade that, on the pretext that photography was contrary to the teachings of Islam.

"The hand of the imperialists"

During the last three years, the Government of the Yemen has undertaken some political activity in the foreign sphere. It has been disputing with Britain over the latter's occupation of Aden and its control over the Sultanates on the borders of the Yemen. Although these territories are in theory only British "protectorates", in actual fact they differ little from colonies. The British Government has recently been endeavouring to bring all these Sultanates together under one federal entity. But the Yemen has opposed this move, and has protested to the Arab League about the attitude of the British, and sought to bring the matter before the United Nations, on the ground that the Sultanates are in fact part of the Yemen and should be handed over to it.

There are some observers who take the view that the recent attempted *coup d'état* was inspired by the British and designed to put an end to the Yemen Government's opposition to British policy. They are of the view that it was the British who tried to upset things in the Yemen, and that the people of the Yemen themselves are quite happy with their Imam and their royal Mutawakkiliyya family. Such a proposition, to my mind, is false. I know that it is fashionable in the Arab and Muslim worlds these days to blame everything on "imperialism", and to use it as a whipping-boy for everything that goes wrong. This is often a perverted and harmful attitude of mind. An examination of what really took place in the Yemen shows that Britain cared little who came to the throne of the Yemen — for it stood to benefit little from a change of kings there unless some ultra-progressive monarch was to come to the throne and proceeded to change the whole face and outlook of the Yemen, and thus opened up avenues of trade for the British. It was also unlikely that a new king in the Yemen would acquiesce in what the British are planning for the Sultanates. And in

any case Britain could not care less about the feelings of the Yemen, for it knew quite well that little harm or effective opposition could come from a weak and decrepit Yemen to handicap any policy planned by the Foreign Office in London.

Admitting the sun of progress

The Imam Ahmad is now safely back on his throne, after having executed his brother, the Amir 'Abdullah, who attempted to overthrow him, and the other leaders of the attempted *coup*. But is the Imam Ahmad really safe on his throne? I do not think so, unless he changes his policy and carries out drastic reforms in his country. It is significant to note that the Amir 'Abdullah was recognized as a man with rather progressive ideas. He had travelled extensively abroad as a representative of his country, and his journey had broadened his outlook very much. Two of his collaborators were also men with progressive ideas — one of them was the Chief-of-Staff of the Yemen's army, and had received his education and training abroad. It was a fair guess, therefore, that had the Amir 'Abdullah succeeded in his *coup* he might have caused great changes in the Yemen — changes to the good, and probably in line with ideas in the twentieth century. The Imam Ahmad is reported to have succeeded in regaining the throne by sending messages to the tribes of the Yemen, through his son, saying that "the enemies of Islam were raping the daughters of the Prophet's descendants" (i.e., the daughters of the royal Mutawakkiliyya family). He was clever enough to appeal to the ignorant tribesmen in this way, and he promptly got their assistance. But will he be able to bluff again in this way, should the people of the Yemen themselves become restive and decide to put away with his rule? It seems that the Imam Ahmad fully understands this now, for he has declared after the *coup* that he was thinking about forming a "popular"

Government, in which only the Prime Minister will be a member of the royal family.

Few flattering things can be said about the Yemen and its rulers at present. Still less can be said about the escapists who believe that the British and the imperialists are at the root of the evil in the Yemen. The root of the evil is in the Yemen itself — in its rulers who have forced time to stand still for so many years. And the Arab and Muslim States have a duty towards the people of the Yemen — it is that they should endeavour by peaceful means to break the iron curtain which is now struck around the Yemen, and induce her rulers to admit the sun of modern civilization into the dark Yemen.

The royal family of the Yemen seem to fear that if they let in a breeze of the twentieth century into the Yemen, this breeze may soon become a raging storm which will blow their rule to bits. That need not happen. We have the example of Sa'udi Arabia, which not many years ago was on the same level as the Yemen today. Under the benevolent and enlightened rule of the Sa'udi family the country has consistently gone ahead in the path of progress and prosperity. The people of Sa'udi Arabia, when they compare their lot of a few years ago with their present condition cannot fail to be grateful to the Sa'udi family, and particularly to its founder, the late King 'Abd al-'Azeez al-Sa'ud. The present King of Sa'udi Arabia, as much as his late father, has built his rule on the love and admiration which he inspires in his enlightened and vigilant people. And this is surely a safe foundation for a long and prosperous reign. The King of the Yemen, however, has built his reign on the fear which he has imposed upon his benighted subjects. But the people of the Yemen may one day wake up, and if they do, they will strike angrily.

TEN YEARS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE

A time of crisis

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Arab League, which occurred on 10th March 1955, was greeted with rather mixed feelings in the Arab world. The anniversary occurred at a time of crisis in the Arab world, with something like a raging battle of propaganda directed from one Arab State against another on the subject of pacts and alliances with the Western Powers. It was also marked by unrest in many parts of the Arab world, taking shape in *coup d'états* and attempted *coup d'états* in some States. The stress and anxiety which prevailed in the Arab world had affected the Arab League, and at one time, not long ago, threatened to undermine its whole structure.

There is no denying the fact that the Arab League was formed for the single purpose of expressing the hopes and aspirations of the 40,000,000 Arabs of the Middle East, who have for a long time now struggled hard to achieve national solidarity and independence. They wanted the League to work for peace and prosperity for all the Arab countries. Many observers, however, both in the Arab world and outside it, feel that although the League had disappointed the hopes of the British Foreign Office that it would be a willing instrument of imperialist diplomacy in the Arab world, it had done little to realize the burning hopes and aspirations of the man-in-the-street in the Arab world. Although the League had tried hard to unite Arab national aspirations and



The Secretary-General of the Arab League,
Mr. 'Abd al-Khaleq Hassouna

protect the Arab States from the snares of imperialism, it has not completely eradicated imperialism from the Arab countries, nor has it been able to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of Arab nationalism.

What the Secretary-General of the Arab League says

An explanation of the causes behind the failure of the Arab League to achieve its declared purpose during the past ten years was given by the Secretary-General of the League, Mr. 'Abd al-Khaleq Hassouna, in a statement he made on the day of the League's anniversary. He said: "The ideals of unity, freedom and prosperity for the Arab peoples, on which the League was founded, were after ten years as strong, if not stronger, than they were on the day of the League's foundation. The repeated cry in Arab political circles, and among the men-in-the-street in the Arab world as a whole, for more activity by the Arab League, were not indications of the League's failure, but rather they were indications of a more enlightened and vigilant public opinion in the Arab world. And this was a very good sign." Mr. Hassouna explained the roles which the Arab League played in the various crises which beset it since its inception — the Palestine problem, the Libyan problem, the problem of Arab North Africa, and the dispute between Britain and Egypt over the future of the Sudan. In his opinion, the Arab League was not very much to blame in the Palestine tragedy, because it came on the scene a long time after matters had become aggravated and the fate of Palestine more or less sealed in international circles. He mentioned the successes of the League during its short life. These included the part it played in economic, social, trade, cultural, legal and other agreements among the Arab countries *inter se*, and the setting up of an Arab propaganda office in New York to help enlighten American opinion about Arab affairs. He also mentioned the part which the League played in making the economic blockade against Israel tighter and more effective. This blockade, he said, would soon bring Israel to her knees, and if the Arab States persisted in standing by this blockade, the day would not be far away when they could hope to retrieve their lost rights in Palestine.

The cause of the weakness in the Arab world is Western imperialism

That the Arab world has been limping lately, and has not shown itself to be capable of fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of the Arab peoples, is a fact which few can deny. What has in fact caused the weakness of the Arab League? The answer to this question was given in a commentary broadcast by Cairo radio on the occasion of the League's anniversary. The commentary said:

"We remember today the anniversary of a great event in Arab history — an event on which the Arabs had placed great hopes, but which today aroused bitterness in their hearts. Ten years ago the Arab League was set up by a group of Arab States which deemed it useful to unite; and the Arab people's longing for unity, freedom and prosperity was built on the League. Today the Arabs look on the debris of that edifice, for the foundations of the League were not strong enough to bear the heavy weight of Arab hopes. During the past ten years the Arab nation has suffered more injustices and divisions than it ever knew before it became bound together by one Charter. But these failures are not due to the League; they are due to the Arab States themselves. . . . How then are the Arab States to blame? For their weakness? But we have great strength in our resources,

our manpower, and our strategic positions. For disloyalty? But we have given thousands of martyrs on the altar of Arabism. For servility to imperialism? But today we are witnesses of the most impressive struggle ever waged between the Arabs in their resistance to the wishes of imperialism."

The commentary went on to say that the real reason for the weakness and disunity in the Arab world was Western imperialism. It said that it is the vicious finger of imperialism messing things up in the Arab world, enticing certain States to its camp, and creating a wide gulf between those States and other Arab States; with the result that unity disappeared and rancour took its place.

From Egypt also, the home of the Arab League, came another sober and analytical view on the shortcomings of the League and its prospects of success. The *Egyptian Economic and Political Review* for April 1955, a semi-official monthly, said in a leading article:

"The anniversary of the Arab League this year comes at a time of crisis, largely stimulated by Iraq's defection from political solidarity with the rest of the Arab States. It will not, however, be the first crisis that the League has encountered in its eventful career, and it is not likely to be the last. For it is in its ability to survive crises which would have overwhelmed a lesser organization that the Arab League achieves success and gives promise of continued survival.

"By its nature the Arab League must reflect prevailing conditions in the Arab world, and if it is constantly beset with growing pains, these are inevitable. Not to have had them would be surprising. A review of the history of the last ten years has much to reveal, but perhaps the most important factor influencing the course of the League's existence springs from the dual character that the Arab League has had to adopt. This split personality is made up of the following two aspects:

- (a) The Arab League as an organization of Arab governments; and,
- (b) The Arab League as an organization of Arab peoples.

"The recent history of the Arab world is one of slow progression towards representative government, and although the process since the war has been greatly accelerated, the development of nationalist attitudes towards international affairs still seriously outstrips development towards a representative system. Strong public feelings in matters of policy are usually inconvenient to governments, and in the Middle East these were the more inconvenient as considerable divergencies frequently existed between nationalist and government tendencies.

"As long as the problems affecting the Arab League were of a nature to provoke a unanimous and united reaction on the parts of peoples and governments, union was generally achieved. Disunion came when policies contrary to the general tendency of Arab nationalism were being pursued. Arab governments were for the most part installed in office by a foreign hand, and either by conviction or by interest they generally sought to follow policies suggested to them by their foreign patrons. As long as no State or group of States took sides either in the nationalist or in the Western camp, an uneasy balance was maintained within the League. With the strengthening of the Sa'udi Arabian relationship with Egypt in 1946, however, a change rapidly took place in the inner structure of the Arab world, and two voting groups were formed within the League Council. The one made up of Egypt, Sa'udi Arabia, Syria, the Lebanon and the Yemen following an Arab nationalist tendency, and the other grouping the two Hashemite States of Iraq and Jordan, whose governments at the time had a more Western leaning.

"It is here that the main internal division within the Arab world could be localized, and it can be argued that such divisions are inevitable where no form of popular representation exists. The present crisis within the League caused by the emergence of a Turkish-Iraqi agreement can also be traced to this. For the conflict between Arab nationalism and Western installed governments still goes on. There is little doubt that until adequate representation of Arab peoples can be achieved through their governments, divisions and crises will continue in the Arab world. However, in some matters the two sides are invariably in agreement, and of these the maintenance of the Arab League and the state of war in Palestine are notable examples."

A "SECOND ROUND" WITH ISRAEL?

"The Arabs should realize that time is on their side. They should not allow themselves to be brought into battle with Israel at this stage. They can afford to wait for the time when they become stronger and can be sure of victory when they come to grips with Israel. It may take them only a few years to get to that stage. Meanwhile, the Arab States bordering on Israel should maintain their self-respect. They should be more vigilant, and strengthen their watch on their borders. But above all they must not retaliate in the same cheap manner as Israel attacks them. They must go on building their strength . . . for that is the only way in which they can put an end to Israel's depredations, and also wipe out the insult which was dealt to them seven years ago"

The Gaza raid

Late in February 1955 a barbaric raid was carried out by the Israeli forces against an Egyptian army post near the frontier in the Gaza strip. The attack resulted in the murder of 36 Egyptian soldiers and 6 Palestinian refugees, as well as the wounding of many others.

World opinion was prompt in denouncing Israel in severe terms for this dastardly attack, which was a most flagrant violation of the Armistice Agreement between the Arabs and Israel. The Egyptian Government raised the matter before the Security Council of the United Nations, and the Council passed a resolution strongly condemning Israel for this attack.

It is unnecessary to quote here what statesmen from various countries said in sympathy with Egypt on this occasion. In my opinion, the effect of such words will pass away, and they will have no lasting effect on the Palestine problem. There have been many resolutions passed by the United Nations Organization on the Palestine problem, and not a few of them were in favour of the Arabs. But the Arabs have derived little practical benefit from such resolutions. Still less will they derive any benefit from the sweet and passionate words of foreign statesmen commiserating with them on another wound inflicted by Israel.

The Arabs must instead ask themselves this simple question: Why has Israel been finding it necessary to embark every now and then upon violent acts of aggression against its Arab neighbours? It is true that it is easy for Israel, as it is for the Arab countries, to commit such acts and violate the Armistice Agreement. Surprise murderous attacks of the kind in which Israel has been indulging against its neighbours — particularly against Jordan and Egypt — do not require great military skill for their immediate success. The border between the Arab States and Israel is very easy to penetrate, and the Arab States are particularly vulnerable to border attacks because the border is often thickly populated by Palestinian refugees who are defenceless in their camps of idleness and misery. Little courage — indeed, only cowardliness — was displayed in the attack against the Egyptian post in the Gaza strip, as in previous attacks by Israeli forces against Arab territory. Most of the Egyptian casualties were suffered as a result of mines laid in the road by the Jews inside Arab territory to kill Egyptian troops who answered a call for assistance by the attacked Egyptian post. The previous Jewish attacks on Qibya and Nahhalin in Jordan were directed against civilians, who were blown up in their homes by Jewish soldiers. Such base acts of murder cannot give credit to their perpetrators, and a Zionist, however perverted, cannot find them a source of pride. Why then do the Israelis commit these acts, and pay little heed to the fact that they will later be severely condemned by the United Nations Organization and world opinion?

Impatient Israel

There are many possible answers to this question. First, it is known that Israel is impatient with the state of war which technically exists between her and the Arab States.

Although the Arab States indulge in little warlike activities against Israel to make her uneasy in this respect, they have harassed her in other directions. They have imposed on her a tight economic blockade which has strained her economy and brought her on the verge of economic collapse. It is a fact that Israel is not viable as an economic unit, nor can she ever hope to be so unless the markets of the Arab world are opened to her. She will, therefore, continue to be in a state of economic distress and chaos unless the Arab States decide to lift the blockade which they have imposed against her. Israel, therefore, badly needs peace with her neighbours. She wants the kind of peace that will enable her to suck the economic blood of her neighbours and establish her more firmly in their midst. Israeli statesmen have repeatedly made passionate overtures to the Arab States for peace. But the Arabs have not responded to these overtures. The reason was that the Arabs insisted on Israel putting into effect the resolutions of the United Nations Assembly before they could talk peace with her. Chief among these resolutions is the one passed in 1949 calling on Israel to allow the return to Palestine of all the Palestinian Arabs who were driven out of their homes by the Jews, and to compensate those who do not wish to return. Another resolution requires Israel to hand over to the Arabs territory which she now occupies in contravention of the United Nations resolution for the partition of Palestine. But Israel would have none of this. She wants to "have the cake and eat it". And as long as she remains in this frame of mind the Arabs will never talk peace with her.

But if the Arabs are not willing to talk peace with Israel on Israel's terms, then Israel is determined to make them do so while she has a reasonable opportunity of succeeding in this. Until recently, military experts were of the firm opinion that Israel was superior in military strength to any of her Arab neighbours, and, indeed, to all of them combined. It was believed that should war flare up between the Arabs and Israel, the latter would have a very good chance of coming out of it victorious. But that has begun to change recently, when the Arab States became conscious of their military weakness and made determined efforts to strengthen themselves. The Arab States, particularly Egypt and Syria, have of late been adding to their military strength. These two countries, under a military dictatorship, have been busy building up their military strength. Egypt is now manufacturing locally a great variety of small and heavy military equipment. The settlement of the Suez Canal dispute with Britain, and the consequent lifting of the arms embargo imposed by the Western Powers against the Middle East, have been used to good advantage by Egypt as well as by other Arab countries. The United States of America and Britain have been offering arms and military equipment to the Arab States to help strengthen them against the possibility of Communist aggression in the Middle East. The Western Powers preferred to rope the Arab States into military pacts, but the Arab States (with the exception of Iraq) have so far fought shy of this. They have welcomed military aid from the Western Powers, but only if such aid does not bind them

to any specific policy in support of the Western Powers and does not tie their fate irrevocably to the Western camp. In other words, the Arabs wanted to protect their freedom of action. The Western Powers, at first, refused to help the Arab States on this basis, but they later consoled themselves to this attitude of the Arabs, and have been giving them fairly generous military aid. But the Western Powers have laid one condition: the arms supplied to the Arab States must not be used for the purpose of committing any aggression against Israel.

The mounting strength of the Arab States

And so, in a very short time, the Arab States are ceasing to be military weaklings, and are becoming stronger. And Israel is watching this process with great apprehension. She looks around her and finds her neighbours no longer slumbering in their weakness. She sees that Egypt has succeeded in acquiring the most important military base in the Middle East — the Suez Canal base, which is rapidly being evacuated by Britain and handed over to Egyptian forces. She sees Syria getting stronger. She also sees Jordan building up strength. And lately she has anxiously watched Iraq regain her self-respect as a military power and open up wide

of the Jews of Israel. So the Western Powers promptly made up their minds about granting aid to the Arabs.

The "balance of power" which Israel has been trying to maintain in the Arab world — a balance between Israel on the one hand and the Arab States put together on the other — is quickly being disturbed. Israel realizes that before long the Arab States will become her match, and will be able to talk to her in the language she understands — the language of military operations. Israeli statesmen, who have failed abysmally in their repeated efforts to induce the Arabs to conclude peace with Israel, perceive closely that their chance of succeeding in securing such peace will grow slimmer as time passes and the Arab States become stronger militarily. The "balance of power" which they have been advocating to the Western Powers is being ignored. Soon the 40,000,000 Arabs, who at one time were weaker than the 1,500,000 Jews of Israel, will become strong — and much stronger than Israel. And for this reason, it is held in official circles in Israel that something must be done quickly to force the Arabs to come to terms with Israel — quickly, that is, before the Arabs become Israel's match in the military sphere.



The Pakistani Secretary-General of the International Muslim Youth Assembly, Mr. In'amullah Khan (second from left), with Finnish Muslim friends on the occasion of 'Id al-Fitr (1374 A.H.) at Helsinki, Finland. To his left is Mr. Zahur Tahir, the President of the Finnish Muslim Organization (Soumen Muhamettilainen Seurakunta), Helsinki.

In Finland there is a colony of about 1,000 Muslims of Turkish extraction. One of these Muslims, the late Mr. Z. I. Ahsan Boré, translated the Qur'an into Finnish, which was published at Tampere, Finland, in 1942

horizons before her for acquiring military strength. Indeed, wherever Israel looks in the Arab world she finds statesmen talking about building up military strength. She does not like this at all. In fact, she has made desperate efforts to induce the Western Powers to deny military assistance to the Arab States unless and until they conclude a lasting peace with Israel. The Western Powers at first tried to fall in line with Israel's wishes. They endeavoured to put pressure on the Arabs to make peace with Israel, and they pretended that they would deny the Arabs military aid if they did not do so. But the Arabs saw through this bluff, and soon forced the Western Powers to call it off. The Arab States knew that the Western Powers were more interested in strengthening the Middle East against the possibility of Communist aggression than they were in fulfilling the wishes

The reason behind the Gaza raid

It is here that an explanation can be found for the murderous attacks which Israeli forces made against the Egyptian forces in the Gaza strip recently. Israel wanted to provoke the Arabs into retaliating. If that happened, Israel was undoubtedly prepared to hit back with venom and tear up the Armistice Agreement, thus starting a fully-fledged war against Egypt, and against any of the Arab States who came to her help. With such a war Israel would hope to achieve two things: first, she would strike such a blow as would nip in the bud the growing military strength of the Arab countries; and secondly, she would expand her territory and refuse to give up any part of such territorial gains except in return for the conclusion of a lasting peace with the Arab countries concerned. (Israel did a similar

thing during the latter stages of the Palestine campaign when she refused to give up Egyptian and Lebanese territory except in return for an Armistice Agreement.)

It was wise on Egypt's part not to fall into the trap laid for her by Israel. Had Egypt responded to the extreme provocation offered by Israel, it was more than likely that she would have been thrown into open war with Israel at this stage. This war would not have involved Egypt and Israel alone, for other Arab States would have joined in. This was made clear by the statement made by the Prime Minister of Iraq, Mr. Nuri al-Sa'eed, as soon as the news of the Jewish attack on the Egyptians in the Gaza strip was known. He said that Iraq stood firmly by its obligations under the Arab Collective Security Pact, which required its members to come to the aid of one another in the event of one of them being involved in war or in the immediate threat of war.

The Arabs united

The Iraqi Prime Minister's statement was made at a time of stress and disagreement between his country and Egypt over the question of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact, with tempers running rather high in both countries over this matter, and propaganda machines working overtime on abuse and attack. But despite all that, the Iraqi Prime Minister, as well as the people of Iraq as a whole, found it necessary to bury the hatchet. This demonstrated in no uncertain manner that the Arab peoples in the various parts

of the Arab world felt themselves to be one nation, and considered it their duty to join hands immediately in defence against a common enemy. To the people of Iraq, an attack by Israel against Egypt or any other part of the Arab world was an attack against Arabism and against Iraq itself. Such a feeling is indeed one of which the Arabs ought to be proud. They have not always felt that way, nor have they acted in this spirit of late, and particularly during the Palestine campaign a few years ago. But they have now learnt the lesson of disunity. And they have begun to believe deeply in a maxim which was expressed more than thirteen hundred years ago by the Prophet of Islam. He said: "The believers are like one body; if any part of it becomes afflicted the other parts feel the pain and seek to help".

The Arabs should realize that time is on their side. They should not allow themselves to be brought into battle with Israel at this stage. They can afford to wait for the time when they become stronger and can be sure of victory when they come to grips with Israel. It may take them only a few years to get to that stage. Meanwhile, the Arab States bordering on Israel should maintain their self-respect. They should be more vigilant, and strengthen their watch on their borders. But above all they must not retaliate in the same cheap manner as Israel attacks them. They must go on building their strength . . . for that is the only way in which they can put an end to Israel's depredations, and also wipe out the insult which was dealt to them seven years ago.

PAKISTAN

1955/56 Budget Shows a Surplus

Transition to semi-industrialized economy reached

Chaudhry Muhammad 'Ali, the Finance Minister of Pakistan, announced on 31st March that a provision of Rs.1,152 million had been made for development expenditure in the 1955/56 budget.¹ This amount is eight times the expenditure during 1950-51. The expenditure is meant almost entirely for financing economic development and will be financed from internal and external loans, foreign aid and a moderate degree of deficit financing.

The Finance Minister said: "Starting as a predominantly agricultural country eight years ago, Pakistan has already completed its transition to a semi-industrialized country. Its economy has passed from a state of weakness and instability to a position of growing strength. The development programme has got into its stride and in spite of dangers and difficulties the economy has moved forward. The year that is closing today is another milestone on the road to progress and prosperity.

"At the time of Partition there was hardly any industry worth the name in the country. Today, we are self-sufficient in coarse and medium varieties of cloth, writing paper and shoes. We are more than self-sufficient in jute goods which we are exporting to foreign countries. We are steadily approaching self-sufficiency in cement, paper board and certain essential chemicals. A great deal of progress has been made in the manufacture of woollen goods and sugar. Some of these developments have been truly spectacular."

"Taking the index of industrial production for the year 1950 at 100, a rough survey of the production of seventeen major industries indicates the corresponding indices as 125 for 1951, 160 for 1952, 235 for 1953 and 285 for 1954. The

indigenous production of cloth and yarn in 1954 reached 483,000 bales as against 301,000 bales in 1953 and 108,000 bales in 1950. There has thus been an increase of 347 per cent during the period from 1950 to 1954. The rise in production in the case of other industries during the same period was 130 per cent in sugar, 175 per cent in hydrogenated vegetable oils, 208 per cent in cigarettes, 473 per cent in leather uppers, 284 per cent in leather soles, 804 per cent in safety matches, 52 per cent in crude petroleum, 53 per cent in petroleum products, 63 per cent in cement, 169 per cent in steel ingots and steel re-rolling, 27 per cent in coal and 173 per cent in electric energy."

"As a result of the progress of development, the revenue structure has undergone basic transformation. During the year 1948-1949 customs revenue was roughly half of total Government receipts. During the year 1955-56 it will be reduced to about one-third. On the other hand the gross amount of income tax, sales tax and Central excise duties taken together will increase to three times what it was in 1948-49."

Defence expenditure and aid from abroad

The Minister continued: "The level of overall defence expenditure under capital and revenue taken together which will be met from our own resources, however, remains unchanged at Rs.800 million. In addition, further expenditure will be incurred for the reorganization of the Defence Services in order to make use of equipment received from the United States Government under the Military Aid Programme. The additional expenditure involved is likely to

¹ Pakistan Rs.10 = £1.

be of the order of Rs.80 million, which will be met from counterpart funds to be established under the United States Commodity Aid. This is exclusive of the cost of equipment being supplied under the United States Military Aid Programme. As you all know our defence expenditure in relation to our national income is very high. This, however, is the price we have to pay for freedom. The security of the country must come first. While we must strive for peace with all our resources, we must equally be prepared to meet aggression from any quarter."

He then referred to the difficult exchange position last year, and continued: "Under the circumstances we approached the United States Government for aid. As on previous occasions our request was met with an immediate response and an Economic Mission, under the leadership of Mr. Heinz, arrived in July last year to conduct an on-the-spot survey. As a result of their recommendations the United States has agreed to give a generous measure of aid for which we are grateful. As goods arrive under the United States



*The Finance Minister of Pakistan,
Chaudhry Muhammad 'Ali*

Commodity Aid Programme the economic situation will improve still further. I must take this opportunity of thanking the United States Government and other friendly countries and agencies, namely, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Ford Foundation and the United Nations for extending economic and technical assistance for Pakistan's development. Besides \$110 million which the United States Government has agreed to give in the form mainly of commodity aid, the aid offered by other countries and agencies is: Canada \$10 million, Australia £A.4.6 million, New Zealand about £N.Z.4 million, the Ford Foundation \$2 million and the United Nations \$1.1 million.

PEN PALS

Mr. Abdul Rahim B. Yunji Olaiya, Secretary-General of Muslim Students' Association of West Africa, P.O. Box 300, Sekondi, Gold Coast, wants to correspond with friends of either sex. *Interests:* Stamps, Arabic literature, photographs and general ideas, etc.

Mr. S. M. Vachiat, P.O. Box 537, Vereemining, Transvaal, South Africa, wishes to correspond with friends. *Interests:* Learning about foreign countries and their peoples, photographs, magazines and general correspondence.



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EGYPT A

Lt.-Colonel Jamal
Minister of Egypt

9th April to

BROTHER

EGYPT

Area : 386,110 square miles.
Population : About 20,000,000 (95% Muslim).
Flag : Green with white crescent (converse side) and three 5-pointed stars arranged in an equilateral triangle between the horns.

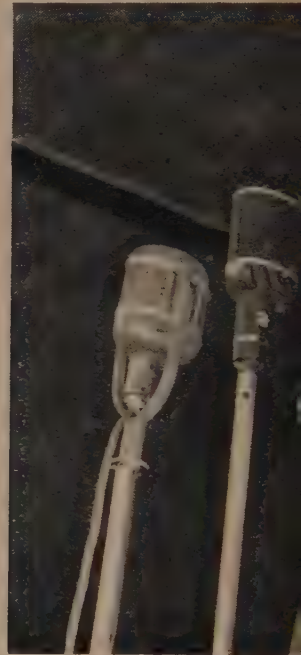


Above — The Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Honourable Mr. Muhammad 'Ali (extreme left) gave a Dinner in honour of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel 'Abd al-Nasir (second from left).

Our picture also shows the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Chaudhry Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (fourth from left) and Major Salah Salem (sixth from left), the Egyptian Minister of National Guidance

Top centre — The Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, in one of his characteristic and forceful moods while addressing the people at Cairo, Egypt. Our picture was taken on the occasion of the opening of the Egyptian Military Academy on 3rd March 1955.

The Prime Minister of Egypt, in a book published in New York on 12th April 1955, has called for co-operation among the world of 400,000,000 Muslims. He says, "When I consider that there are nearly 100,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and more than 100,000,000 in the Middle East, and other millions in the far-flung parts of the world united by a single creed, it instils a sense of the tremendous responsibilities which might be realized with the co-operation of Muslims. . . . This co-operation, without going beyond the bounds of their natural loyalty to their own countries, will enable Muslims to wield power wisely and without limit."



PAKISTAN

al-Nasir, the Prime Visit to Pakistan

April, 1955

BROTHERS

PAKISTAN

Area: 364,757 square miles.
Population: 75,842,000 (85.9% Muslim).
Flag: The national flag is dark green, with white vertical part at the mast, the green portion bearing a white crescent in the centre and a 5-pointed star.

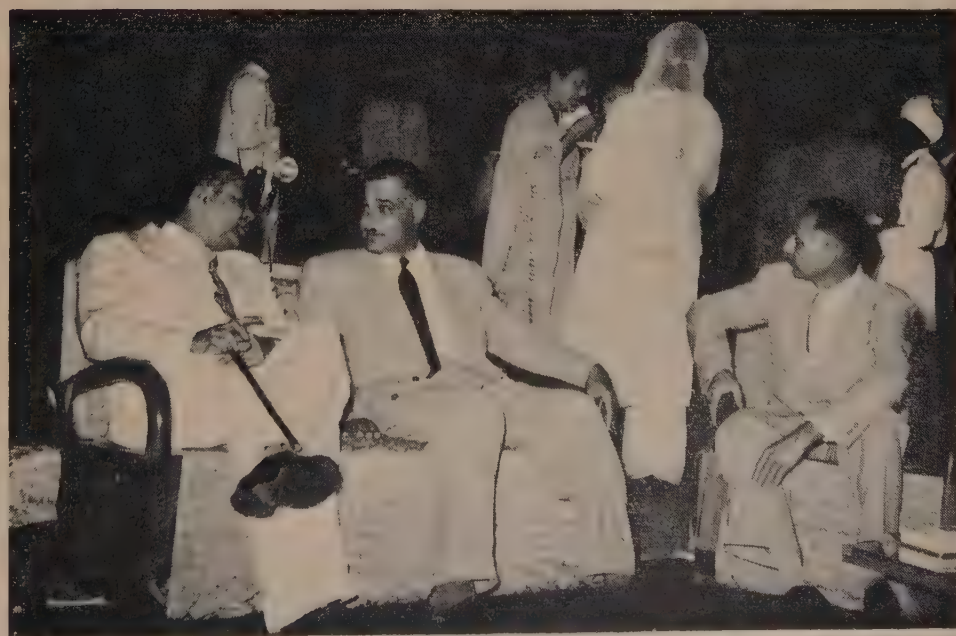


Above — The Pakistan Minister for Information and Broadcasting, the Honourable Sardar Mumtaz 'Ali Khan (first, right), is presenting an album of photographs taken during his State Visit to the Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, at the Karachi Airport just before his departure from Pakistan on Tuesday the 12th April 1955.

Below left — Our picture shows Lt-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir during his visit to the Royal Pakistan Navy units in Karachi. Rear-Admiral H. M. S. Chaudri, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy, is standing to the left of the Prime Minister of Egypt.

Bottom centre — The Governor-General of Pakistan, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad (left), in conversation with the Prime Minister of Egypt, Lt-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. At the Pakistan Governor-General's House on Tuesday the 12th April 1955, His Excellency Mr. Ghulam Muhammad garlanded the Egyptian Prime Minister, and said, "Khuda hafiz" (God speed)! my brother".

Below — Many a Reception was held in honour of the distinguished Prime Minister of Egypt. Our picture shows him at a Reception held in his honour by the Governor of the Sind Province of Pakistan, His Excellency Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot (first right)



THE PRIME MINISTER OF EGYPT IN PAKISTAN

State Drive through the capital of Pakistan

Karachi accorded a warm welcome to Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Egypt, who, accompanied among others by Major Salah Salem, Minister of National Guidance, Dr. Mahmud Fawzy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. 'Abd al-Khalek Hassouna, Secretary-General of the Arab League, paid a three-day State Visit to Pakistan.

Twenty minutes after landing a spectacular State Drive from the airport to the Governor-General's house took place. Thousands of people turned out to welcome Colonel Nasir. The route was decorated with Pakistan and Egyptian flags, and large crowds of people sat on the roofs and balconies of the buildings heartily cheering the President.

The Governor-General of Pakistan's Address of Welcome to the Egyptian Premier

Later a State banquet in honour of the Egyptian President was held at the Governor-General's house. In his address of welcome the Governor-General spoke of Colonel Nasir as one who combined the high offices of President of the Council of Ministers and Prime Minister of the Republic of Egypt. He referred to the visit as a memorable occasion and the first time that Pakistan had the honour of entertaining the head of the Egyptian State.

"Egypt to us," said the Governor-General, "is no foreign country; it is a member — and one of the most important members — of the great family of Muslim nations. I and my people are eager to serve the same cause and to co-operate fully with Egypt in every field."

The Governor-General said that in Colonel Nasir they saw the symbol and personification of the hopes and aspirations of Egyptian youth who sought dynamic leadership and wise guidance. He said they had had convincing evidence of such leadership and guidance in Colonel Nasir. The Governor-General referred to the amicable settlement of the Suez Canal Zone dispute, an achievement which, he said, had paved the way to happy relations between the Arab countries and the Western Powers, and had contributed in no small measure to the peace and progress of the Middle East.

Mr. Ghulam Muhammad referred to Egypt's glorious past and said that by reason of its strategic position it held the key to the gateway of the East. He said that Egypt had always rightly been looked upon as a great fountain-head of Muslim learning and culture which was in a unique degree symbolized by the great University of al-Azhar, which was the heritage of the whole Islamic world.

In conclusion, His Excellency the Governor-General of Pakistan said that he looked forward with pleasure to working on the Supreme Council of the Islamic countries with Colonel Nasir and His Majesty King Sa'ud as his honoured colleagues and co-workers.

Colonel Nasir's Speech

In reply, Colonel Nasir spoke of his visit to Pakistan as being something he had been looking forward to for a long time. He said that the friendly feeling which had inspired the generous words of the Governor-General was fully reciprocated by every Egyptian. Referring to the agreement with the United Kingdom, he said this put an end to over seventy years of strife and ill-feeling and opened up the doors for new and bright horizons.

On the subject of Palestine, Colonel Nasir said that the co-operation between Pakistan and Egypt had always been full and steady, and he trusted it would continue to be so.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan on the close relationship between Egypt and Pakistan

At a dinner held in honour of the distinguished guest, Mr. Muhammad 'Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, said: "Egypt and Pakistan have a common bond of unity and affinity, stemming from a common religion. We also share a common cultural heritage. As in your country, we in Pakistan are striving to attain a peaceful and progressive development through harmonious international co-operation and goodwill. The ancient civilizations of the Nile and the Indus have linked our two countries from time immemorial. This bond was further strengthened by the universal brotherhood of Islam, which transcends national or territorial boundaries. Therefore, in welcoming you this evening, we welcome a brother in the true sense of the word."

"In the international field we share common objectives. We are striving for the maintenance of peace, which is so essential for the progress of man, the basis of which must be mutual understanding, harmonious co-operation, and amity and accord among the nations of the world. We share with you your concern for the betterment of the Arab countries and your grief at the wanton acts of aggression committed by the Israelis."



When in Karachi, the Prime Minister of Egypt visited the mausoleums of the two leaders of Pakistan: the Founder of Pakistan, the Qa'id-i-a'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, and the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat 'Ali Khan.

Our picture shows Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir placing a wreath at the grave of Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah.

He assured the Egyptian President of Pakistan's unflinching resolution to secure for the Arab countries the fulfilment of their aspirations. The Pakistan Prime Minister said his country fully identified itself with the proposal for holding annual conferences of Muslim nations during the Hajj season, with a view to promoting solidarity and co-operation among the peoples of the great Commonwealth of Islam.

PAKISTAN AND THE ARAB WORLD

Lt.-Colonel Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, the Prime Minister of Egypt, in his Introduction to the book *Pakistan: Past and Present*, writes:

"The Indian sub-continent remained a scene of such violent disorders and horrible massacres that it became inevitable that Pakistan should become a separate State. It was also inevitable that she should run her affairs as an Islamic State. This has been stipulated as a fundamental principle in the draft constitution. Pakistan has undergone and is still undergoing much hardship in order to build her integrity."

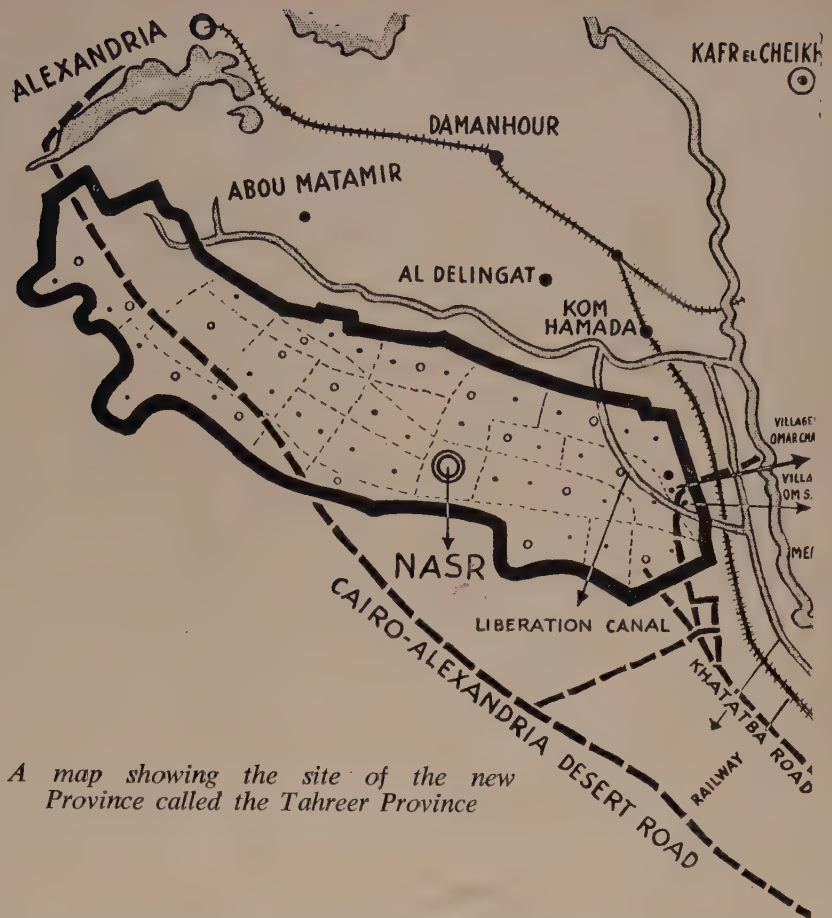
"For a new-born country like Pakistan, it is natural that she should adapt her foreign policy in accordance with the faith on which she based her existence and for whose sake she sacrificed lives and wealth. The policy of strengthening relations between Pakistan and the Arab and Islamic countries was derived from the Islamic spirit which taught that 'believers are brothers' and advised Muslims against disintegration or dissension: 'Adhere to your Faith and do not be disunited'. This same spirit decreed that true Islam strengthened the attachment between believers: 'Remember the boon you received from God as you were enemies and He reconciled you until you became all brethren'."

"This is the policy which brings relatives closer, protects common Islamic interests, and leads to a solution of the Arab problems which are still pending and over which the Islamic world feels indignant. The Islamic world is now undergoing the gravest and most critical phase in its history. It is in dire need of solidarity in order to pass the present decisive phase in its history and to write a new page, full of pride and dignity, in its future record."

THE TAHREER PROVINCE

Egypt's Great New Reclamation Project

by G. Neville-Bagot



A map showing the site of the new Province called the Tahreer Province

"This new Province is one of the most enterprising and laudable schemes being carried out in the Muslim world today. The great thing about it is that it is entirely due to the enterprise of the Egyptians themselves, in which Western or other technicians have no hand"

The first fruits of the Egyptian Revolutions

After the deposition of ex-King Faruq, the Egyptian military junta declared that its immediate objectives were to wipe out corruption, to provide a decent standard of living for every Egyptian citizen and to give him or her an equal chance to rise without prejudice to the highest possible posts in Egypt, irrespective of the class origin of the particular person but in accordance with the capacities of each citizen.

Within a few months of its assumption of power, it had taken effective steps to limit corruption and to curb the rise in the cost of living. To achieve the ends of social justice it made a partial redistribution of the land. It was, however, realized that a limitation of land holdings did not go far enough, for the increase in the numbers of the population rapidly absorbed all surplus land. The Revolutionary Council, therefore, decided that the area of cultivated land must be rapidly increased by from 5-10 per cent — land must be reclaimed from the desert. They decided to create a new Province to be known as the Liberation (*Tahreer*) Province, covering an area of 60,000 feddans (acres). The southernmost boundaries of this Province are about 80 kilometres from Cairo, in the region west of the delta which is bounded by the Nubariyah Canal in the north and the desert route to the south. Ultimately the cultivated and developed area of this Province will be increased to 1,200,000 feddans.

In the choice of the site many factors had to be taken into consideration — soil, water, transport and building materials. Thus the Liberation Province lies in the vicinity of the fertile agricultural lands of the Nile, and in a central position between the two highly developed areas of Cairo

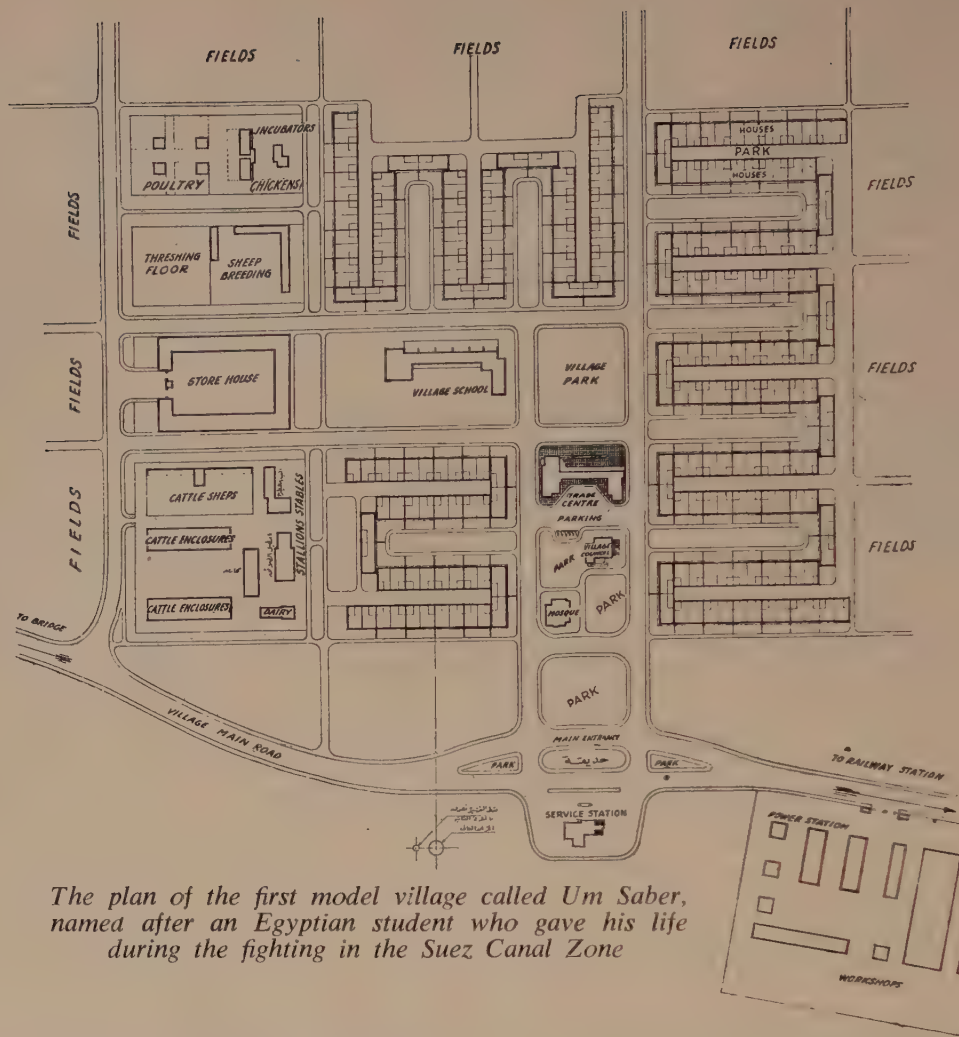
and Alexandria. Its soil is considered to be suitable for the production of crops given a sufficient water supply, which could be abundantly provided by subterranean waters flowing beneath the sand. There is ample supply of suitable building materials such as sand, pebbles and stones. Finally, its proximity to the Cairo-Alexandria desert route makes transport relatively easy.

It was two years ago when a team of 100 engineers and 5,000 labourers under an army officer, Major Majdy Hasanain, started work on this great project. Today it is taking shape. Living in tents, they first bored artesian wells for drinking water and built a 10-mile artery for the main canal, which will ultimately be 50 miles long and which feeds the network of cement-lined canals which are essential for irrigating the land. A factory capable of producing enough bricks to build six houses per day was constructed and also a pumping station for raising subterranean water.

Already the first two villages, Um Saber and 'Umar Shaheen, named after Egyptian students who gave their lives during the fighting in the Suez Canal Zone, have been built. In the plan sixteen more villages will also be named after the heroes or heroines and martyrs of the Egyptian national resistance movements.

A description of the new villages of the Tahreer Province

These villages, to take Um Saber as a typical example, are being built in a "U" shape. Each village, apart from public buildings, has 230 houses capable of housing 1,400 people. The bricks used are of sand and cement, and are hollow to temper the atmosphere within these houses in



The plan of the first model village called Um Saber, named after an Egyptian student who gave his life during the fighting in the Suez Canal Zone

winter and summer. They are provided with running water, electricity and lavatories. Each house has two rooms, a kitchen, bathroom and a store room. Shelter is provided for poultry. A common shed for the cattle is established for the use of the whole village on agricultural co-operative principles, with the object of evading the evils of housing cattle in individual homes. There is also a shower so that the peasants can wash themselves properly after leaving the fields. The front doors and the balconies face on to a square and the back of the houses lead to the fields. Each village has a mosque, recreational park and a primary school. The cost of each house is £E.200. A 5-feddan plot goes with each house. At present more than 5,000 feddans are under cultivation. The cultivable acreage is being increased at the rate of 30 feddans per day.

A common bakery is provided for each village. The village is so designed that all public buildings, health, social and educational institutions, are combined in a single collective unit.

It was decided to recruit the inhabitants of the new villages according to the following principles: 60 per cent from the ex-Servicemen already acquainted with agricultural practices, 20 per cent from among the graduates of the agricultural, commercial and industrial schools, 10 per cent from the university graduates, and 10 per cent from "other sources". Thus a new *élite* is being formed which will be housed in conditions far better than those of the *Fellaheen* in their mud huts and which will owe its advancement to

the new régime in Egypt. The university graduates will be given 10-feddan holdings as against 5 feddans to the less skilled farmers.

Every attempt is being made to achieve 100 per cent literacy in these villages. At school the citizens of this Province are learning various subjects as well as civics with the object of creating a new generation of people who love their country, detest foreign colonialism, and are ready to sacrifice their life and soul in defence of their country. The dress of the inhabitants is being adapted to their new environment.

As regards local government, the Tahreer Province is the first district in Egypt where decentralization in its fullest sense is practised. Thus the Executive Council of the Province is the sole body responsible for its administration and for the appointment of officials and workers.

The main artery of the canal takes from the Rayyah Bahairi and runs through the Province for a distance of 10 miles. During the period of the Nile floods the Province can easily be watered, but during the low season pumping machines raise the water to the level of the aqueducts. Water is distributed by pipes. It is hoped also to make artificial rain.

Four huge boring machines are being used on this scheme and 45 huge tractors which draw trucks, each of which has a shovel which can level 9 cubic metres of sand per minute. Thus the sand dunes are quickly levelled. It



An Egyptian artisan cutting the steel of which the cylinder used in digging wells is made for use in the village of "Omar Shaheen", the name of an Egyptian martyr who gave his life fighting in the Suez Canal Zone. The building of a village in Egypt starts with the digging of wells

is aimed at developing 34,000 feddans in the first three years. Thirty-five light tractors are also being used for ploughing and sowing. A large electric plant for supplying light for domestic and commercial purposes is under construction. It will provide motive power for the factories and water-pumps.

The Tahreer Province will have a population of 1,000,000

The Province will ultimately have 216 villages. It will be divided into 18 *markazes* of two "points" each (a "point" is a large village which in its turn will supervise six smaller villages). When the complete scheme has been carried out, about 1,000,000 will live in the Province on an area of 1,200,000 feddans.

In selecting the candidates for settlement on the new Province, they are giving priority to those who are literate. Most of the successful candidates are married men between the ages of 24-30, and who have not more than two children and have completed their period of military service.

The Tahreer Province aims at providing enough fruit and vegetables for Alexandria and Cairo with a probable surplus for export when the scheme is in full swing. Strawberries are already growing on what was formerly desert

land. Tomatoes, cucumbers, water melons, vegetable marrows, peas, barley, olives and ground-nuts are already being cultivated.

This new Province is one of the most enterprising and laudable schemes being carried out in the Muslim world today. The great thing about it is that it is entirely due to the enterprise of the Egyptians themselves, in which Western or other technicians have no hand.

The absolute necessity is to provide modern housing and sanitary conditions as well as a full and balanced diet, these problems have long remained a challenge to the whole of the East. Once something has been done in this sphere, then the strength of the people will be greatly enhanced. For the past few years the Zionists in Palestine have challenged the Arabs to compete with them as farmers. Now the Egyptians have taken up the challenge in no uncertain manner. When this and other schemes elsewhere in the Arab world, for instance the one of rehabilitation of the victims of Zionist aggression in Palestine, under Musa 'Almi, and the vast irrigation schemes of Iraq, will be completed, an immense rise in the standard of living of the *fellaheen* will come about and create a new and prosperous and modern peasant farmer class.

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SA'UDI ARABIA

Impressions of a West African Pilgrim

By the Sheikh al-Hajj 'Omar Fye

The Sheikh al-Hajj 'Omar Fye, O.B.E., J.P.

It was my good fortune, during a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca in the year 1953, to find myself with sufficient time on my hands to make an extensive journey of certain areas of Sa'udi Arabia, and I was thus able to spend some time in the important centres of Jeddah and Ta'if, in addition to the pilgrimage cities of Mecca and Medina.

As I journeyed through this land of promise (to the Muslims), I was greatly impressed by the degree of order existing in this country, which, in the early years of this century, had a fearful and unwholesome reputation, which made the pilgrimage to Mecca an undertaking fraught with trials and tribulations to such an extent that the returning pilgrims were filled more with a sense of relief at dangers overcome than of an act of duty duly performed.

Today, the evidences of good order and good government are many and varied; from the good roads and proper means of travel to the outward and visible signs of care and safety and maintenance of territory, the traveller is confronted with a determination to make the lot both of the visitors and of inhabitants one of comfort, ease and security.

The instructions connected with the enlightenment of the populace present themselves to the observation of the enquiring and inquisitive traveller. Schools, dispensaries, hospitals, power stations and other similar buildings assure the traveller that not only is this a modern country, but that the plans to improve the wellbeing of its population are in full existence in what had hitherto been regarded as a remote and inaccessible part of the desert of Arabia.

Crime is negligible, and safety and protection exist for both inhabitants and visitors; justice is even-handed, and is administered in accordance with Islamic principles; the pilgrim can drop his wallet or his satchel while making the



rounds of the prescribed devotions, and in spite of the hundreds of thousands who pass and re-pass a given position, that wallet or satchel will remain untouched until it is retrieved by the owner.

Sanitation is given high priority in the amenities available, the result being that plague and pestilence are now rare, and well-nigh absent in a territory where in former years they were of frequent occurrence. And, most emphatically to a West African, there is no discrimination on account of race or colour, either in the collection of dues or in the devotional exercises which form an essential part of the Pilgrimage ceremonies.

What is peculiar is the fact that upon enquiry from the local guides, the traveller is told with much excitement and enthusiastic fervour that all these benefits and advantages are the result of a beneficent and far-sighted policy pursued by the late King and now continued by his son, the present King Sa'ud, who is untiring in his endeavours to make the lot both of pilgrims and of inhabitants one of a safe, secure, healthy and pleasurable existence.

It is well known that the late King had decided to extend, at a cost of thousands of pounds, the Prophet's Mosque at Medina. This is now being put into effect, and very soon a large and ornate mosque will increase the beauty and dignity of the Holy City of Medina.

The traveller can truly testify that by the efforts and endeavours of both the late King and the present Sovereign, the pilgrimage to Mecca is now a convenient undertaking for all pious Muslims, who come from the ends of the earth. The pilgrims will now be able to perform their devotions without hindrance and without fear or trepidation.

The Six Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union



THE MUSLIM PEOPLES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOVIETS*

By A. Bennigsen

IV. THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

"... Thus one can understand why the Moscow Government so jealously protects its Muslims from all contact with Dar al-Islam and why the iron curtain is reinforced around its Muslim Republics. Western observers often have a tendency to believe that the nationality policy of the Soviets has achieved complete success and that for the moment Central Asia is the jumping-off point for an ideological conquest of the world of Islam. In reality, the integration of the Muslim lands into the Soviet Union is far from achieved, and they constitute, in spite of partial successes, a weak link in the Soviet system"

In the preceding articles we analysed the religious and cultural problems which cause a conflict between the Muslims of Central Asia and the Soviet authorities. It only remains for us to study the real political side of the policy of Russian "colonization".

Unfortunately, in the present state of our knowledge, or rather, our ignorance, we are prevented from making any study of this question as a whole.

We have, however, considered it advisable to deal with three important aspects of this matter on which we have in our possession a recent documentation, in order to give even an incomplete survey of the "national-colonial" policy of

the Moscow government, namely, the problem of the justification of the Russian conquest; the question of the cadres in the Muslim Republics and the co-habitation of the Russians with the "natives", and, finally, and very briefly, the problem of the penetration of the Russian language or the Russianization of the respective local languages.

* The three articles in this series appeared in *The Islamic Review* for April, May and June 1955. Courtesy, the Editor, *l'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris, France, No. 23, 1953.

1. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA AND OF THE CAUCASUS BY TSARIST RUSSIA

From the theory of "absolute evil" to the theory of "absolute good"

Muslim intellectuals of Central Asia take advantage of the change in the official interpretation of the conquest of their countries by Russians as "a lesser evil"

The best barometer for measuring the fluctuations of the Muslim policy of the Soviets is the official interpretation of the conquest of the Muslim territories of the Caucasus and Central Asia by the Russians.

We know that up till 1937 the school of thought of Pokrovsky, which incontestably dominated Soviet scientific history, considered the annexation of non-Russian territories as "an absolute evil"; the Russian penetration of Turkestan and the Caucasus was considered as a mere act of colonial conquest, and all the uprisings of subjected peoples became in their eyes "progressive and liberating" movements, and in fact semi-revolutionary movements. When in August 1934 Stalin, Jdanov and Kirov published their *Remarks for the Guidance on the Official Manual of the History of the Soviet Union*, in their commentaries they adopted the old anti-colonialist position on Russian colonial history.

This official doctrine was modified for the first time on the 28th August 1937 by the publication of the famous report of the Commission of Government experts set up for the purpose of producing a manual of the history of the Soviet Union, which severely condemned the theories of Pokrovsky. This Commission decreed that the annexation of non-Russian territories was not an absolute evil but a lesser evil; for, in spite of the oppression of the Tsarist régime, it saved these countries from the vicissitudes of an even more brutal form of oppression from the Ottoman Turks, the Persians, the feudal Khanates of Central Asia, even from British domination. The theory of the "lesser evil", which, however, remained in vogue until 1951, still permitted one to interpret the resistance of the Muslim peoples as positive movements and their leaders (for instance, the Imam Shamil and the Khan Kenesary Qasymov) as being national heroes — the official *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* of 1934 quotes Karl Marx's words to describe Shamil as a "great democrat celebrated for his heroism, his intelligence and his courage".¹

The Muslim intellectuals benefited from this tolerant viewpoint to interpret the history of the conquest of their country in the light of what they thought to be the official and the definite doctrine of the Communist Party (and herein lay their error). Also, is it not surprising that the great number of historical works of which the "bourgeois-nationalist" character was unmasked after 1950 were published between the years 1945-50, during which period the Moscow Government seemed to wish to leave the task of leading on the masses of their own peoples to the native cadres? Here are several typically characteristic examples of this.

In Ossetia, Caucasia, a local historian, Janaev, published a work on the annexation of Ossetia, which was "completely impregnated with nationalist ideas, idealizing the resistance put up by the mountain-dwellers against the Tsarist armies".²

In Azerbaijan, a native writer, G. Mehtiev, wrote a work entitled *The Re-union of Azerbaijan with Russia and its Historical Importance*. In this book he refutes the theory

of the "lesser evil" and states that "the danger of seeing the Caucasus conquered by Turkey and Persia in the nineteenth century did not exist". Thus in his opinion "there could be no question of considering that the nature of the annexation of Azerbaijan by Russia was progressive".³

The Imam Shamil glorified by the Caucasians for his resistance to Tsarist Russia

But above all, the period of the conquest of Northern Caucasia (during the forties to the sixties of the nineteenth century) gave rise to the greatest number of works throwing into relief the heroic figure of the Imam Shamil and describing the Russian military venture as "colonialist and imperialist".

Among others one can mention the work of Pavlenko, *The Life of Shamil* (1941); the book of a member of the Russian Academy on the Sheikh Mansur (1945); Sk. Bushuiev's *Shamil*, published by the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; the works of the Daghestani historian, R. M. Mohammedov, *The Imam Shamil and The Struggle of the Mountain-Dwellers against Tsarist Russia*, published in 1940 and 1941 respectively by the Makhatah-Kala Branch of the Academy of Sciences; and the most well known of all these works, *The History of Social and Philosophical Thought in Azerbaijan in the Nineteenth Century*, by the Azeri professor, Haidar Huseinov. This last work, which glorifies the national resistance of the Muslims, was welcomed on its publication in 1948 by the authorities with the greatest possible compliments, and won for its author the Stalin Prize in 1949.

Also, innumerable popular works, novels, plays, operas, tales, etc., were devoted to the same events, which demonstrated that in the eyes of the Muslims of Caucasia the appearance on the scene of the Russian armies had always remained an "absolute evil".

Central Asian Muslims and the Tsarist conquest of their countries

The same applied to Central Asia, where the problem of the conquest resulted in the appearance of many historical works which were tolerated by the authorities in spite of their anti-Russian tone. In Kirghizia, the members of the Historical Institute of the Branch of the Academy of Sciences in Frunze did not hesitate to compare the Russian penetration "to the bloody expedition of the Manchu emperors and to the razzias of the Kalmuk Khans and the Emirs of Kokand".⁴

1 *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*: "Shamil was the leader of the national liberation movement of the mountain-dwellers of the Caucasus in their struggle against the Tsarist colonial policy. This revolt carried out against Russia and the local governing classes was a typical example of the struggle against feudalism" (Vol. 61, pp. 804-806). In 1947, at a conference convoked by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union for the purpose of discussing the conquest of the Caucasus, Professor K. G. Adjemian was violently singled out for an attack because he had under-estimated the "progressive role" of the activity of Shamil.

2 The report of G. Hasanov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Azerbaijan to the special session of Azeri (Azerbaijani) historians, 15th November 1950 (B.R. for 15th November 1950).

3 *Ibid.*

4 V.A.N., No. 12, pp. 77 to 79. The account of the proceedings of the Institute of Language, Literature and History of the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

In Kazakhstan, the Academy of Sciences of Alma-Ata published the official *History of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan*, which glorifies the resistance put up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the Kazakh nomads against the Tsarist armies, and it goes on to state that "Russia has always been the most dangerous of Kazakhstan's enemies", and that the Russian conquest was an "absolute evil".⁵

In 1947 the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan gave an award to the work of Professor Bekmekhanov, *Kazakhstan from the Twentieth till the Fortieth Year of the Nineteenth Century*. The subject of this work is the struggle led by the Khan Kenessary Qasymov against the Russians. In this work, the Kazakh Khan is described as a "national hero", an "almost democratic chief", "the defender of the Kazakh liberties against Russian colonialism".⁶

In Uzbekistan the official *History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan*, published in 1950 by the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Tashkent, still states that "the annexation was an absolute wrong". It contests the statement that it "saved Turkestan from the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism".⁷

Russian Communists, seeing the danger of "Russophobia", react and condemn the attitude of Muslim intelligentsia of Central Asia

During this period the "Russophobia" of the native intellectuals went further than the mere interpretation of the problem of the conquest. Wishing to find more "democratic" ancestors than their feudal overlords, the local authors, who were mostly high-ranking dignitaries of the Communist Party, went out of their way to discover revolutionary movements in the past, independent of Russian Bolshevism, to which they attempted to link up the origin of Communism in their own respective countries. This tendency, which is hardly known of in the West, is of especial interest; for it seems to denote among the local Communists, and in particular those of Central Asia, a real "Titoist" feeling which has been summed up in the following phrase by a recent Muslim emigrant: "We are Communists, but we wish to build up our own form of Communism; and it is deeply rooted in us and is independent of Russian Communism".

This particularist sentiment, which is violently anti-Russian, is very significant of the new aspirations of the new Muslim intelligentsia, which is Communist in its formation and mode of expression but nationalist in its thoughts. But it was only able to make itself heard for a few years before being smashed with extreme brutal methods in 1950.

It is essentially, when it deals with the interpretation of the different national liberation movements which were directed at the end of the last century, against Russian domination in the role of the native revolutionaries in the Great October Revolution that we can appreciate the importance and the extent of what we call for lack of a better term the "Titoism" of the Soviet Muslims. Here are several examples:

The insurrection of Ishan Muhammad 'Ali of Andidjan in 1898⁸ was until 1950 considered to be "a patriotic manifestation of the popular masses of Turkestan against the rapacious imperialism of the Tsars" and as "a revolt of the working people".¹⁰

The same uprising after the Communist Party had straightened the line became "an explosion of reactionary religious fanaticism and an anti-social movement directed not against the Tsarist régime but against the Russian people, and the intention of re-establishing in Turkestan the feudal power of the Khans of Kokand and the protectorate of the Ottoman Sultan".¹¹

The great revolt of the Kazakh and Kirghiz tribes in 1916,¹² of which the "revolutionary" character is more evident than in the case of the revolt of Andidjan, also gives the native intellectuals the opportunity of exuding their Russophobe sentiments and of making out that it was a forerunner of the October Revolution.¹³

Other native authors go even further and show that in Turkestan the October Revolution, far from having been the work of the Russians who were living in that country, had been prepared for over a long period previously by the local political progressivists, "the young Bukharians," "the young Khivians," the Jadids, independent of the Russian Bolshevik Party, and often were even its rivals.

Thus in Turkmenistan, Professor Nepessov, of the Academy of Sciences of Ashkabad, in his book, *The Victory of the Soviet Régime in Northern Turkmenistan*, Ashkabad, 1950, gives first place to the native chiefs who revolted against the Tsarist régime and to the national liberal party of the "Young Khivians". It fails to mention the role of leadership played by the Russian Bolshevik Party.¹⁴

In the other Republics of Central Asia, the local historians "idealize the progressive nationalist movement of the Jadids", and they claim that in spite of its Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic character it was the starting point of all the revolutionary and progressive movements of the Muslims of Russia. Such, in fact, is the special thesis of the Uzbek Professor, A. Wahabodjaev, *Boukhara-Afghan Relations and the Intrigues of Imperialism in Central Asia from 1918*

5 *B.*, No. 6, for March 1945; *V.I.*, No. 6, of 1949.

6 *K.P.* for 19th April 1951; *P.* for 26th January 1950.

7 The Report of Niazov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party (b) to the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee of this Party on 23rd February 1952 (*P.V.* for 24th February 1952).

8 The revolt of the Muslim Uzbeks and Kirghiz of Ferghana, which was rapidly defeated by the Tsarist troops.

9 *G.E.S.*, the 1949-1950 Edition, Vol. 2, p. 416.

10 Ghafurov: *History of the Tajik People*, Stalinabad, 1949.

11 K. Jitov: "Several Problems Concerning the History of the National Movement in Uzbekistan" (*P.V.* for 2nd November 1950).

12 Which broke out on the occasion of the mobilization of the foreigners (non-Russians) in the labour camps and the requisition of the herds of the nomads.

13 See the account of the meeting of the Party organization of the Kirghiz Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union (*Q.Q.* for 15th July 1952, *S.K.* for 11th July 1952); and the Report of Shaiakhmatov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party (b) to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party on 20th October 1951 (*K.P.* for 21st October 1951); see also *Sotz. Kaz.* for 1st August 1952, *K.T.* for 25th and 26th July 1951 (the article of B. Ghafurov, "The Marxist Interpretation of the History of the Tajik People"), *The Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of Alma-Ata*, No. 49, Historical Series, Vol. 4, of 1948.

14 This "deviation" was severely condemned at the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party on 28th-29th December 1951 (*T.I.* for 12th January 1952). See also Yu. Tarassov, "The Character of the Revolutionary Movement in Turkmenistan" (*T.I.* for 21st November 1951 and *V.I.*, No. 9, 1951).

to 1924;¹⁵ of the Kazakh historian, Guba, *The Bolsheviks of Kazakhstan in 1917-1918*;¹⁶ and of the Turkmen historian, Nepessov,¹⁷ etc.

Other native writers confuse the opposition of the Muslims to the Tsarist régime at the end of the last century with the anti-Soviet uprisings of the years from 1918 to 1936, and openly avow their sympathy for the insurrection of the Basmachis (1920-1936) and the Kazakh nationalist movement of Alash-Orda (1918-1921).

Thus, if one may believe the Moscow review, *The Bolshevik*, Nepessov does not hesitate in his work, *The Victory of the Soviet Régime in North Turkmenistan*, to proclaim that "all the positive reforms carried out in Turkmenistan between 1918 and 1920 were the work of the native masses, in which the Russian authorities of Moscow and the local Communist Party (dominated by the Russians) did not give the least help..." In fact, quite to the contrary, he maintains that the Communist authorities have been "incapable and inept" and that the régime set up by the Russians "did not differ appreciably from the sombre feudal epoch of the Khans of Khiva". By way of contrast he openly admires the Basmachis, "their ardour in combat and their disinterestedness". He proclaims that the insurrection had been "a veritable popular mass movement provoked by the ineptitude of the Soviet administration".¹⁸ The Press of Central Asia elsewhere frequently provides examples of the ease with which the "Russophobia" of the Muslim intellectual is transformed into "anti-Sovietism". And it may well be asked if the Muslim of Central Asia sincerely believes in the "indestructible friendship of the great family of Soviet peoples" or if it considers the present régime as nothing more or less than the continuation of "the colonial oppression of the Tsarist régime". The nationalist sentiment appears to be above all stronger than elsewhere in Kazakhstan, where the intellectuals appear to have a nostalgic memory of the one period when they enjoyed real independence, the years of 1918-20, the period of the Alash-Orda movement.¹⁹

In 1950 the Soviet authorities modified their official interpretation of the nature of Russian conquest

The Soviet authorities took note quick enough of the grave danger presented by this tendency. In 1950 they acted with extreme brutality in brusquely modifying the official interpretation of the problem of the Russian conquest.

From July 1950 we find that Baghirov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, speaking at the Congress of the Intellectuals of Baku, denounces the Azeri intellectuals who glorified the anti-Russian resistance of the Caucasian mountain people. From this date onwards the Imam Shamil ceases to be "the great democrat" and becomes "a sinister feudal brigand, the oppressor of his people and a tool of Anglo-Turk imperialism",²⁰ and a wave of purges sweeps over the intellectuals of Azerbaijan and the Muslim autonomous Republics of Daghestan, Kabarda and Northern Ossetia.

In Kazakhstan the crisis broke out in December 1950 and was even more intense. On 26th December 1950 the *Pravda*²¹ of Moscow published a violent article accusing the Kazakh author, Bekmekhanov, writer and author of the work *Kazakhstan during the Twentieth to Fortieth Years of*

the Nineteenth Century, of putting forward anti-Russian and bourgeois nationalist ideas and of passing off the Khan Kenessary Qasymov as a hero of the national liberation. In April 1951 the Central Committee of the Kazakh Communist Party took up the arguments of the Moscow paper in extending the accusation of Russophobia to all the native historians; for "the iniquitous and anti-Soviet theories of Bekmekhanov and his disciples... had contaminated almost all the works of the scholars..."²²

The local Press of Alma-Ata gives one the possibility of understanding the reasons for which Soviet authorities proceeded to carry out the massive purge of the University cadre of Kazakhstan on the occasion of the problem that appeared to be of a platonic nature — the interpretation of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia in the middle of the last century.

"The subversive national bourgeois theories put forward by the State University of Kazakhstan have caused an immense amount of harm to the education of the Kazakh youth in the spirit of international proletarianism...";²³ "they encouraged anti-Russian sentiments among the University youths";²⁴ "they constitute a major obstacle in the road which leads to the fusion of the different nationalities into a single fraternal family of the Soviet people; they serve the interests of the enemies of the Soviet countries, the ignoble pan-Turks and Anglo-American imperialists, the vile cosmopolitans,"²⁵ etc.

The theory of regarding the Tsarist conquest of Central Asia as "a lesser evil" is given up and its place is taken up by the theory of the "absolute good"

Since the purge of the Caucasian and Kazakh intellectuals, to which should be added the purge of the Universities of Tashkent and Samarkand in November 1951 and of Stalinabad in January 1952,²⁶ the theory of the

15 Tashkent, 1950. This work was denounced as being "anti-Soviet, nationalistic and bourgeois". A Khamraev, "A Dangerous Thesis," *P.V.* for 15th February 1952.

16 *K.P.* for 10th April 1952.

17 *B.*, No. 23, for 23rd December 1951, article by O. Shikhmuradov: "Against the Appearance of Nationalism in Questions Concerning History".

18 *Ibid.*

19 See *inter alia* an article by B. Suleimenov: "The Falsification of the Truth in History" (*K.P.* for 14th July 1951), which is an attack on the work of M. Jirentchei, Director of the Central Museum of the Central Museum of Alma-Ata: *Abai Kuvanbaiev and his Russian Friends* (Alma-Ata 1949), who "breathes bourgeois nationalism, glorifies the anti-Soviet leaders of Alash-Orda... pushes xenophobia to the extent of attacking the Soviet régime..."

20 The Report of Baghirov was published in *B.R.* for 18th July 1950.

21 *P.* for 26th December 1950. Article by T. Tchoinbaiev, Aidarova and Yacounine: "The History of Kazakhstan in the Light of Marx-Leninism".

22 *K.P.* for 19th April 1951.

23 *K.P.* for 8th July 1951, an account of the proceedings of the Congress of Active Members of the Komsomol of the town of Alma-Ata, July 1951, speech by Comrade Luzin, First Secretary of the Komsomol of Alma-Ata.

24 *K.P.* for 12th July 1951. Proceedings of the 7th Congress of Alma-Ata, July 1951, speech by Comrade Luzin, First Secretary of the Komsomol of Alma-Ata.

25 *K.P.* for 18th July 1951. Proceedings of the 10th Congress of Communist Party (b) of the Region of Alma-Ata. Report by M. Volochko, Secretary of the Obkom of the Communist Party (b) of Alma-Ata.

26 On the occasion of the "anti-Marxist" interpretation of the uprising of Andidjan and of the problem of Jadidism.

"lesser evil" seems to have been finally discarded in favour of the theory of the "absolute good". From now on, without openly attempting to justify the Russian Tsarist "colonialism", the Communist Party invites the Soviet historians to present the Russian conquest as a beneficial and progressive event which was impatiently awaited by the native masses. Four essential reasons are advanced for this:

(1) That the Russian annexation saved the Muslim population from the foreign tyranny of the Turks, Persians and English.²⁷

(2) The integration of the adjacent territories has put an end to the feudal parcelling out of these territories and has accelerated the destruction of the sham-medieval form of economy, thus favouring the economic development of these countries;²⁸ the Russian conquest has resulted in the development of a modern agriculture, given birth to industry and the emergence of a *bourgeoisie* and an enlightened proletariat.²⁹

(3) In spite of Tsarism, the most advanced elements of these annexed regions have managed to turn towards "the great Russian culture, the only progressive culture in the world",³⁰ which has made possible the spiritual and cultural advance of the Muslim peoples.³¹

(4) Only the Russians who had settled in the country

had given the October Revolution a chance to triumph in these countries have led the native Muslims on the path of socialism. The native revolutionary organizations were weak and ideologically unstable. Without the fraternal aid of the great Russian people, and without the vigilance of the Russian representatives in the innermost ranks of the local parties, which was never lacking, the latter would inevitably have deviated either towards *bourgeois* nationalism or towards Trotskyism.³²

These few examples prove that the arguments utilized by the Soviet writers in order to justify the Russian conquest can scarcely be distinguished from those employed by no matter which theoretician of "*bourgeois* colonialism" and which have been so violently denounced by the organs of the Soviet Press for the past thirty years. The conquest of the nineteenth century is made to appear as the first, but naturally the first incomplete, step on the way to the liberation of the Muslim peoples which was to be completed by the October Revolution; and the native chieftains who resisted the Tsarist armies, far from being the defenders of national independence only, are allowed to appear according to the official party doctrine as the "agents of foreign imperialism"; their hostility towards Tsarist and Soviet Russia as nothing more than "an expression of blind and reactionary hatred".³³

2. THE RUSSIANS AND THE "NATIVES"

Central Asian Muslims began to be regarded as "minors" by the Soviet authorities

Thus, according to the official doctrine, the Russian people are the "elder brothers" of the indissoluble family of Soviet peoples, and are called upon to give a lead to their brothers who are still "minors" along the radiant road that leads to Communism.

In order to smoothe out the obstacles in the way of the completion of their mission, the Soviet Government and the Communist Party are struggling since the war against all tendencies of the Muslims to revert to their religious traditions and political and cultural traditions which differed from those of the Russian people. But it was not enough to merely detach the Russian Muslims from Islam abroad and then to give them a big dose of "the great Russian culture" and the patriotic traditions of Tsarist Russia; the Soviet authorities also strove to do their utmost to obtain a real symbiosis between the Russians and the "natives" by means of the introduction into the Muslim Republics of a great number of Russian cadres, who were politically more reliable than the people of a foreign race, who were always suspected of being nationalists, and also by a vast ethnic moulding produced by the immigration of rural populations from European Russia towards Central Asia and the exodus of the Muslim peasants to the industrial centres (of Russia).

The Russian Cadres in the Muslim Republics

Russian Communists hold key posts in Central Asian Republics

Theoretically, the proportion of the Russian cadres in all the rungs of the Soviets and the administration of the Communist Party should correspond to the numerical importance of the different nationalities in relation to the total population.³⁴ But the local Press reports prove that

this rule has never been observed and that the Russians hold all the key posts in the administration.

Thus in Kirghizia, a Republic in which the non-Muslims only represent 22 per cent of the population, the Ministry of Finance has only a few Kirghiz for several hundred Russians. Not a single Kirghiz is to be found in the directorates of commerce in the regions of Osh, Issky-Kul, Jalalabad, or in the town of Frunze. The different directorates under the Ministry of Finance only include one-third of the "nationals" of the country, as against two-thirds who are Russians. Against the employees of the State Bank of Kirghizia, the Kirghiz have only a 12 per cent representation.³⁵

27 K.T. for 25th-26th July 1951; B.R. for 18th July 1950; V.I., Nos. 10 and 11, of 1951.

28 V.I., No. 9, of 1950, article by A. Danialov: "Deviations Committed on the occasion of the Interpretation of the Shamil Movement".

29 V.A.N., historical and philosophical series, No. 4, of 1947.

30 B., No. 6, of March 1945, article by Morozov: "A critical Analysis of the History of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan".

31 Report by Baghirov, quoted in B.R. for 18th July 1950.

32 Speech by Tursunov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of Uzbekistan at the 11th Congress of the Uzbek Communist Party, K.U. for 28th September 1952.

33 A. Danialov, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, No. 9, of 1950.

34 The percentage of Russians and other non-Muslims (Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians) . . . immediately after the war was 32.7 per cent in Azerbaijan, 17.5 per cent in Turkmenistan, 3.7 per cent in Tajikistan, 5.6 per cent in Uzbekistan, 32.9 per cent in Kazakhstan, 22.4 per cent in Kirghizia. In the autonomous Muslim Republics (Socialist Federated Republics of the Soviets of Russia — F.R.S.F.R.) the proportion was still higher: 27 per cent in Kabarda, 35 per cent in Daghestan, 49.6 per cent in Tataristan, and 59.2 per cent in Bashkiria. It is likely that now this percentage is even higher.

35 S.K. for 1st July 1952. Article by G. Tughelbaiev, Director of the Finance Section of the Central Committee of the Kirghiz Communist Party (b): "The work with the Cadres must be Continually Increased".

In Kazakhstan the percentage of officials and "national" specialists is also very small: it is only from 2 to 14 per cent in the ministries, and 14 per cent of the total of 65,000 qualified workers who have been trained in the schools of the factories.³⁶ In 1948 only some 10 or 12 Kazaks out of 1,687 pupils were in the higher educational schools of the Republic and received a technical school education.³⁷ In 1952, out of 98 doctors of science there were only 16 Kazaks and only 34 qualified graduate Kazakh women teachers out of 134.³⁸

The place occupied by the Russians in the local Communist parties is still more important. These last-mentioned

were in the hands of the Russians: the Russians held 3 out of 5 posts in the Secretariat, and there were 5 Russians out of a total of 9 members of the Central Committee.⁴⁰ The same applied to the Secretariat of the Kazakh Komsomol, in which two Russians held key posts in July 1951, the post of Second Secretary⁴¹ and the Secretary of the Cadres.⁴²

In Kirghizia, the Praesidium of the Sixth Congress of the Party of the region of Frunze was 42 per cent Russian,⁴³ and the Central Committee elected at the Sixth Congress of the Kirghiz Communist Party (b) was 31 per cent Russian.⁴⁴

In Uzbekistan in September 1952, 35 per cent of members elected to the Central Committee of the Communist



The Imam Shamil (extreme left), once "a great democrat" in the Russian Communist literature, is now depicted by the self-same Russian Communist literature as a "sinister feudal brigand". The Imam Shamil, of Caucasia (1797-1871 C.E.), fought against Tsarist oppression for years on end. He was born in Daghestan and elected Imam in 1835. He led the Caucasian people in a long guerilla war against Russia, thus assisting England and France during the Crimean War (1854-56). He was captured by the Russians at Cunib in 1859, and taken to Russia. He died at Medina, Sa'udi Arabia, while on a pilgrimage to Mecca

institutions are, it should be mentioned, not really autonomous, but are merely branches subordinated to the one party for the whole of the Soviet Union, and this appears to be a monolithic organization which is "one and indivisible", and is entirely dominated by the Russians. It is futile to recall here that the Communist Party superimposes its hierarchy on the State administrative apparatus and it alone disposes of all the real power.

Here are some recent figures:

The non-Muslim members of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (in December 1951)³⁹ represented 63 per cent of the total delegates, and 61 per cent at the Sixth Congress (in September 1952) of the Communist Party (b) of Kazakhstan. In this Republic, the Communist Party (b) of the region of Alma-Ata was comprised of only 35 per cent non-Muslims in July 1951 and all the key posts

Party (b) were Russians, and in Turkmenistan the percentage of non-Muslim members of the Eighteenth Congress of the Party of the town of Ashkabad was 59 in June 1954.⁴⁵

36 K.P. for 13th August 1948.

37 P.J. for April 1947.

38 K.P. for 11th April 1952.

39 K.P. for 19th December 1951.

40 K.P. for 25th September 1952.

41 It is known that in the local Communist Parties the post of First Secretary is always occupied by a "national" of the respective Republics, but this is an honorary post. The real power is vested in the hands of the Second Secretary, who is nearly always a Russian. See John S. Reshetar, Jr.: "National Deviation in the Soviet Union," in *The American Slavonic and East European Review* for April 1953, p. 170.

42 *Sotz Kaz* for 12th July 1951.

43 S.K. for 10th March 1951.

44 Q.Q. for 25th February 1952.

45 S.T. for 13th June 1951.

In Tajikistan in September 1952, the Praesidium of the Eighth Congress of the local Communist Party (b) was comprised of 43 per cent non-Muslims.⁴⁶

In State organizations real power rests with the Communist Party

In the State organizations, whose power is illusory, the real power resting with the Communist Party, the percentage of Russians is not so strong, but it is quite out of proportion in relation to the strength of the Russian minority in these Republics. Thus in Uzbekistan, during the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic in February 1951, there were 106 non-Muslim deputies out of 415, that is to say, more than 25 per cent. The percentage of non-Muslims is especially strong in the industrial regions — 43.5 per cent in the region of Ferghana, 25.8 per cent in that of Namangan, 30 per cent in the autonomous Republic of Karakalpakistan.⁴⁷

In Kazakhstan the Soviet of the town of Alma-Ata, which was elected in March 1953, included 74 per cent Russians and only 26 per cent "nationals" of this country.⁴⁸

In Kirghizia the urban Soviet of Frunze, which was elected on 1st March 1953, included only 82 Muslims out of 302 deputies, that is to say, 27 per cent as against 73 per cent Russians.⁴⁹

The same thing applies to the supreme State organizations. Thus the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Turkmenistan, which was formed on 31st March 1951, was comprised of 19 "national" ministers and 10 Russians,⁵⁰ and the Government of Kirghizia consisted of 7 Russians and 21 Muslims⁵¹ in May of the same year.

In Kazakhstan the Council of Ministers included 25 Muslims and 12 Russians,⁵² etc., in March 1951. Elsewhere in the Central Asian Republics the key posts, the Ministries of Security and of the Interior, are regularly filled by people whose Russian names leave no doubt as to their origin: the Ministers of Security — Ivanov (Turkmenistan), Drozdetski (Uzbekistan), Byzov (Kazakhstan), Volodine (Kirghizia); the Ministers of the Interior — Goubine (Kazakhstan), Nemirovski (Turkmenistan), Maskov (Kirghizia).

The attitude of the natives towards the Russians resident in these countries

The importance of the Russian cadres in the Muslim Republics seems to prove that the authorities do not consider the national intelligentsia to be politically reliable, and they do not consider it to be fit to lead the local masses on the path to Communism. Let us now see how the "natives" react in face of an ever-growing number of Russians entering their country.

It is known that the Russians have never had racial prejudices and harbour no feelings of distrust or contempt towards Asiatics. For them the ethnic merging which has been assisted by the co-existence of groups of human beings, who have emigrated to the industrial centres, and also the rural populations seems to be the solution most convenient to break the barriers which separate the different communities. Curiously enough it is the "nationals" of the respective countries who build up the barriers around the Russian minorities and who refuse to accept an ethnic merger. Several indications give one a chance of appreciating the anti-Russian attitude of the Muslim populations.

Central Asian Muslims do not approve of mixed marriages in Central Asia

First, the extreme rarity of mixed marriages. A Muslim originating from Kirghizia, a former Komsomol, declared in

1949 that a marriage between a Kirghiz and a Russian was practically impossible, as anyone who dared to marry an "unbeliever" would be severely ostracised. This statement is borne out by the local Press of Central Asia. In the lists innumerable names of the members of the Congress, of the heroines of work and of the female students in the higher educational schools, it has never been possible to pick out the name of a married woman who bears a Muslim surname and a Russian Christian name and patronymic.

The local literature also provides very useful indications of this. We have had the good fortune to come across a detailed analysis of two recent novels from the pens of Kazakh writers that deal with the question of mixed marriages. The novel *Syr-Daria* by Sabir Mukanov describes the story of a Russian Communist, Polevoi, who settled a long time ago in Kazakhstan. He is married to a Kazakh woman who still wears the veil (*parandja*) and lives shut up in an *itchkar*. Polevoi is depicted as "a Russian, a friend of the Kazakh people", he speaks the language of the country fluently, wears the national costume and adopts the local customs "to such an extent that he has become a real Kazakh". In another work, *Mary, the Daughter of Yegor*, by Kh. Bekkhojin, the Russian colonials are represented as being a race of despicable and despised people. The only Russian personage who is agreeable in the novel is a young girl, Mary, who is in love with a Kazakh. She has forgotten her own mother tongue and has become a Muslim. "In her soul," writes the Kazakh novelist, "there is nothing Russian left". These two novels were denounced as "odious manifestations of bourgeois nationalism susceptible to cause an immense amount of harm to the secular friendship between the Kazakh and the Russian people".⁵³

Local Press mirrors the dislike of the Central Asian Muslims for the Russians

Through a systematic scrutiny of the local Press of Central Asia one can note that the anti-Russian xenophobia of the "nationals" is universal; for the authorities ceaselessly denounce it. Here are some examples drawn from them.

In Uzbekistan, Niazov, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, states at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party (b) of the Soviet Union that the Uzbek Writers idealize the feudal past and minimize the role played by the Russians in the evolution of their Republic and belittle the Russians; in short, they "strive to the utmost to destroy the intangible friendship of the Soviet peoples".⁵⁴

In Kirghizia, Professor G. Nurov, in the course of criticizing the work of the Pedagogical Institute of Frunze, states that there is a desire on the part of the Kirghiz intellectuals to represent the Russians "as the oppressors of the Kirghiz people".⁵⁵ In the same Republic, Aaly Tokombaev wrote a novel in 1941, *The Years of Bloodshed*, in which the action takes place in the years 1916 and 1918. This novel is "completely impregnated with pan-Islamic, pan-

46 T.S. for 25th September 1952.

47 P.V. for 1st March 1951.

48 *Sotz. Kaz.* for 5th May 1953.

49 Q.Q. for 13th March 1953.

50 T.I. for 1st April 1951.

51 Q.Q. for 19th May 1951.

52 K.P. for 1st April 1951.

53 I. Khramkov, head of the Section of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan: "Towards the Attainment of a High Ideological Level in Kazakh Literature," K.P. for 19th September 1951.

54 P.V. for 10th October 1952.

55 S.K. for 12th December 1952.

Turkic nationalist and anti-Russian ideas". The Russians living in Kirghizia are depicted in the darkest colours.⁵⁶ Another Kirghiz writer, T. Ummetaliev, proclaims in his poem *Batarlar* (The Heroes) the superiority of his compatriots over the Russians. In another poem, *Jenish* (The Victory), "he dares to express his nostalgia for the former Kirghiz freedom" and "he avows shamelessly that he regrets not having died at the time of the *Manas* epics", in other words, in the ninth century.⁵⁷ A Kazakh writer, Mustafin, wrote between 1941 and 1946 two novels, *Tchaganak Bersiev* and *Essep*, in which "not content with glorifying pan-Islamic traditions, *inter alia* polygamy, he villifies the Soviet personages and describes the Russians as sordid brutes".⁵⁸

Other local writers who are more prudent prefer not to commit themselves and allow the ancient national bards to speak for them. Thus the *Manual of Kirghiz Literature* (Edition 1946) and a work entitled *The Kirghiz Bards of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Centuries* contain in each case a special chapter on the poet Arslanbek, and reproduce a number of his anti-Russian writers and in particular the poem *Zamindar*, in which he declares that "the arrival of the Russians overturned the sacred traditions of the Kirghiz people" and "that Islam will be destroyed" and the Russians will cover the Kirghiz land with "shame and ignominy".

The linguistic Russianization and the indigenous resistance to this measure

Russianization of the Central Asian languages

The problem of the linguistic Russianization of the Muslim Republics has already been the subject of many studies.⁵⁹ I shall therefore confine myself to retracing the principal stages of the policy of the government.

Before the Revolution, the Muslim peoples spoke dialects which were chiefly of Turkish origin (twenty-seven dialects) or Iranian (six principal dialects), Finnish-Ungrian (in the Middle Volga region), or Japhetic (in the Northern Caucasus). All the written languages used in the Arabic alphabet. There was no Muslim *lingua franca*, although Azeri and Turkish in the Caucasus and Uzbek in Central Asia tended to acquire the characteristics of a real intermediary language. Lastly, it should be stated that a certain number of pan-Turkic intellectuals toyed with the idea of unifying all the Turkish-speaking peoples of Russia, or at least of Turkestan, through one common literary language, the Jagatai.

The first attack launched by the authorities against the "Islamic" character of the Muslim languages took place at the Congress of Turcology in Baku in 1926, when it was decided to eliminate the Arabic alphabet and to replace it by the Latin alphabet and not by the Cyrillic so as to avoid any suspicion of attempting to apply a policy of "Russianization".

This reform was justified on the grounds: (1) the difficulty of the Arabic alphabet; (2) its inconvenience from a typographical standpoint; and (3) its "aristocratic-clerical-bourgeois" character. Its suppression, in the eyes of the authorities, "should deal a death blow to the Muslim clergy" and provide a powerful support to the anti-religious struggle.

In spite of the often strong resistance of the clergy, and even of the intellectuals who had rallied round the new régime, which was particularly marked in the Crimea, Tataristan and Northern Caucasia, the Latin alphabet did

come into force from 1926 onwards. It remained in use until 1939. But before then several Muslim Republics had already adopted the Cyrillic alphabet, namely, the Kabarda Republic in 1935 and Daghestan in 1938. This contributed very greatly to developing the belief among these "nationals" that they possessed a culture which was quite independent of Russia and much closer to Turkey, who had been given from 1928 onwards a different, but comparable, Latin alphabet.

During this period central authorities did nothing towards the linguistic Russianization of the Muslims; for the decree making Russian the second compulsory language was not published till 13th March 1938.

Central Asian languages now written in the Latin alphabet

The replacement of the Latin alphabet by the Cyrillic took place between 1939 (in Azerbaijan) and 1943 (in Kirghizia); in other words, at a time during which the Government had become aware of the danger of contact with the outside world and begun its campaign against "cosmopolitanism". Immediately after the victory all the Muslim Republics were provided with the Russian alphabet and the authorities unleashed a campaign for linguistic "Russianization".

This began with the elimination of "outdated" words, clerical phraseology, archaic words, terms formerly in use, Arabic and Persian expressions, "the jargon of the classes," and their replacement by Russian or internationally used words. In reality this campaign has been pushed to a far greater extent than is admitted by the authorities; for it has been progressively applied not only to the whole of the Arab-Persian terminology but also to the words of purely national origin. In this respect one can mention the replacing in the Turcoman language of the terms *ittifaq* (Arabic) by *soyuz* (union), *tadjavuz* (Arabic) by *agresor*, *gurulush* (Turkish) by *regim*, *goshum* (Turkish) by *armia*, *zialy* (Turkish) by *intelligentsia*.

To give another example, a Kirghiz who left his country in 1941, that is to say, before the beginning of the "Russianization" campaign, estimated that in 1951 the Kirghiz Press made use of 25 per cent of Russian terms which had been incorporated into the Kirghiz language in these last ten years.

The campaign has continued for "enriching" the local languages with a new terminology: political, technical, economic, purely Russian, and not like the terms of the pre-war days, which were drawn from the old roots of the native language.⁶⁰ Thus the local languages have become encumbered with Russian and international expressions (such as "bourgeoisie", "party," "capitalism," "programme," "plan," etc.) and they have become incomprehensible to the "nationals" of these countries.

56 S.K. for 11th July 1952: The Proceedings of the Congress of Organization of the Party attached to the Kirghiz Union of Soviet Writers.

57 S.K. for 3rd June 1952. Article by B. Kerimdzhanov.

58 P.J., No. 8, of 1947.

59 See *inter alia* two recent excellent studies by Vincent Monteil: "An Essay on Islam in U.S.S.R.," in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris, 1953, ch. V, pp. 84 to 93; and E. Koutaïssouf: "The Struggle against Illiteracy and the Place of the Russian Language in the non-Slav Republic of the U.S.S.R.," *Soviet Studies*, Oxford, October 1951, Vol. III, No. 2.

60 The method which consisted in grafting words on to the old roots of the dialects, which gave them too easily an "anti-Marxist nuance (significance)". Thus the Tajiks translated "the general party line" by "the royal way", and in certain Turkish dialects the word "proletarians" was represented by "tramps".

At the same time, a campaign was launched for the purpose of retaining the original orthography of the borrowed words, as well as the Russian grammatical forms and syntax. For example, in the Central Asian languages the plural of the word *kommunist*, the words *Kommunistlar* (Turkish) and *kommunistha* (Tajik) were replaced by *kommunisty*, in other words, by the Russian plural terms.

To sum up, the linguistic policy of the Moscow Government consists of superimposing the Russian on the Muslim languages, in order to alter them and make them more and more unlike their parent languages, and especially from those whose sub-divisions they are (Turkish and Persian), so as to prevent any understanding between the Muslim nations integrated into the Soviet Union and those independent (Muslim) States which have been set up outside its frontiers.

Also, the ultra-rapid "Russianization" of the local languages is considered to be a means of assimilating "the great Russian culture".

"Russianization" of the local languages is being resisted by the local intelligentsia

From now onwards the importations of Russian terms become so numerous that a complete knowledge of the national languages is no longer possible without first obtaining a mastery of the Russian language; if the present policy is to be continued, one is forced to admit that within a certain period the local language will also become mere "clerical-feudal" survivals doomed to disappear eventually.⁶¹ imperialism⁶³

CONCLUSION

Russian Communists do not seem to have achieved much success in integrating Muslim lands of Central Asia into the Soviet Union

It is difficult and it would be premature to draw a conclusion from this brief glance at the Muslim policy of the Soviets, for, as V. Monteil justly remarks, "nothing is settled as yet from any standpoint: the social and economic upheaval, the emancipation of women, the relationship between Communism and Islam, the 'directed' nationalism and the cultural relations and 'deviations'".⁶⁴

For the moment the Soviet Union remains faced with the colonial problem which is as a whole not very different from the one faced by no matter what country which has been dubbed "imperialist". Formerly it tried to settle this question by new methods which were certainly original: it has had to try to destroy religion and in this it has partially succeeded; it has successfully isolated the Muslims from contact with foreign countries; it has even tried to weaken their national culture and to "regiment" the national sentiments of foreign nations, but it has undoubtedly failed in this last-mentioned effort. For the past two years there has been a change in tactics: the Moscow Government has resorted to the old Tsarist methods: it "Russianizes" history, culture and even the language of the "natives", and this process of "Russianization" takes place in a climate of perpetual agitation and uncertainty which it is powerless to master. In the very midst of the new local Communist intelligentsia, the emergence of which, we repeat, is the work of the Soviet régime, new forms of "nationalist" deviation are surging up incessantly and one cannot discover for certain if they are the result of a reaction against the "great Russian"

Also the linguistic "Russianization" appears to be the most dangerous because it is the most radical and the most scientific of the means of assimilating the Muslim nations. Also, it is not surprising to find that this measure comes up against a desperate resistance on the part of the local intelligentsia which is mentioned almost daily in the local Press.

Two examples will suffice to show the violent struggle carried on by the "national" savants to save their (national) culture.

In *Uzbekistan*, the Deputy Director of the Tashkent Branch of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute denounced in May 1952 "the action of the Pan-Turkic pan-Islamic nationalists who prevent the penetration of Russian terms into the Uzbek language and claim the right to keep the Arabic-Persian vocabulary even for the translations of the classics of Marx-Leninism".⁶²

In *Turkmenistan*, "some pan-Turks who are the enemies of the Soviet people refuse to recognize the beneficial action of the Russian language on Turcomen, and they reject the scientific terminology and political and cultural terminology of Russian; by thus behaving they seriously harm the Stalinist friendly goodwill of the peoples (of the Soviet Union) and show themselves up as the lackeys of

centralism of Moscow or the product of a defence mechanism against the separatism of the "nationals".

Certainly this separatism does not go very far as at present. It is only expressed by the enlightened circles: the university set, the State employees, officials, the cadres of the Communist Party, and there is no reason to believe that there is a "nationalist" resistance of the masses; but one knows — and the examples of certain "colonial" countries are there to prove it — the considerable danger emanating from ideas put up by the "intellectual" circles. The Soviet leaders seem to have understood this, and hence their appeals to "Bolshevik vigilance" against the "enemies of the people" and the continual purges which have accompanied these appeals.

Thus one can understand why the Moscow Government so jealously protects its Muslims from all contact with Dar-al-Islam and why the iron curtain is reinforced around its Muslim Republics. Western observers often have a tendency to believe that the nationality policy of the Soviets has achieved complete success and that for the moment Central Asia is the jumping-off point for an ideological conquest of

61 Stalin has expressed on this question an opinion, tantamount to law: "It is false to think that the crossing of two languages produces a new third one which is distinguished qualitatively from each of these languages. In reality, one of the languages usually emerges victoriously from this crossing of the two" (P. for 20th June 1950).

62 P.V. for 25th May 1952: The Proceedings of the Conference of Linguists of Central Asia held at Tashkent from 14th-24th May. The speech by Bahivaev.

63 T.I. for 12th October 1951. Article by Azimov, Khydyrov and Kinvanov: "The Role of the Russian in the Development of the Turkmen Language".

64 op. cit.: Essay on Islam in U.S.S.R., p. 139.

the world of Islam. In reality, the integration of the Muslim lands into the Soviet Union is far from achieved, and they

constitute, in spite of partial successes, a weak link in the Soviet system.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B. *Bolshevik*, a Russian language bi-monthly review, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) of the Soviet Union, Moscow.
B.R. *Bakinski Rabotchi*, a Russian language daily, published in Baku.
G.E.S. *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Moscow.
K.P. *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, a Russian language daily, Stalinabad.
K.T. *Kommunist Tadjikistana*, a Russian language daily, Stalinabad.
K.U. *Kizil Uzbekistan*, an Uzbek language daily, Tashkent.
P. *Pravda*, a Russian language daily, Moscow.
P.J. *Partiinaia Jyzn*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

P.V. *Pravda Vostoka*, a Kirghiz language daily, Frunze.
S.K. *Sovetskaia Kirghizia*, a Russian language daily, Frunze.
Sotz Kaz. *Sotzialy Kazakhstan*, a Kazakh language daily, Alma-Ata.
S.T. *Soviet Turkmenistany*, a Turcomen language daily, Ashkabad.
T.I. *Turkmenstaia Iskra*, a Russian language daily, Ashkabad.
Q.Q. *Qyzyl Qyrgyzstan*, a Kirghiz language daily, Frunze.
V.A.N. *Vestnik Akademii Nauk*, a Russian language monthly review, the organ of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow.
V.I. *Vestnik Istorii*, a monthly review in the Russian language, the organ of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND

THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

THE 'IDS AT WOKING

The Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, England, is the first mosque ever built on the soil of a Western country in modern times. The mosque was built in 1889 C.E.



The cosmopolitan character of 'Id festivals at Woking

About forty years ago a tall, stout, bearded man from Northern India could be seen in Woking, a town thirty miles from London. He had ideas, in those days, that seemed strange and unbelievable. Many thought them to be fantastic dreams. Yes! They were dreams forty years ago. Today they are a reality.

This man, who is known to many throughout the world, was Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din (d. 1932).

Slowly and steadily, as the years went by, the number of Muslims in Great Britain swelled, and today it runs into thousands. For many years Woking was the only place where Muslims celebrated their 'Id festivals. Now they are celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles at more than a dozen places. But still the most picturesque and colourful gathering assembles at Woking.

The 'Id al-Fitr in England was held this year on Tuesday 24th May. The 'Id festivals at Woking, unlike their counterparts in the rest of the Muslim world, entail complicated

preparations and work for the staff of the Woking Muslim Mission. On this day, for instance, since early morning everyone was busy at Woking getting ready for guests. The cooks were preparing the food; other people were arranging for the parking of the cars; yet others were placing the chairs; everyone appeared busy and satisfied with the manner in which things were going on. A slight concern is sometimes expressed about the weather, but it is immediately rebuffed by someone else who would say, "It has never rained on 'Id day; God is always kind to us". The statement proved to be true. The capricious weather of England behaved very well on this festive day.

On occasions like the 'Id it is difficult to neglect handicapped friends. A young blind friend from Karachi is in a hospital thirty miles from Woking. Somehow or other arrangements were made to bring him to Woking for 'Id prayers. Although he cannot enjoy the gaiety of the 'Id as he used to three years ago, before he lost his eyesight, he is still able to enjoy the company of his friends on this festive occasion.

Arab Legion of Jordan's Band

At about 10.30 a.m. guests started pouring in. The first guest was a lady from Switzerland. However, by 11 a.m. one could see Indonesians, Malaysians, Burmese, Indians, Pakistanis, Persians, Arabs, Africans, Chinese, Germans, South Americans, Swiss, Albanians, English, etc., all mingled into one happy and joyful crowd.

A day before the 'Id a telephone message was received at Woking saying that forty members of the Arab Legion would be coming for the 'Id. Little did anyone realize the effect the presence of the Arab contingent would have on the gaiety of the 'Id celebrations. At 11 a.m. these forty stalwarts of Jordan came in front of the marquee marching and playing their pipe band. At once the television cameras were focused on them and people clustered around them, their hearts throbbing to the beat of the military music. Everything became exhilarating and cheerful. At 11.30 a.m. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, called everyone, over the microphone, into the marquee, which had been gaily decorated with flags of about twenty countries where Muslim communities exist. When the congregation had assembled, he said he had received telegrams from various countries ranging from Australia to British Guiana wishing the gathering of Muslims at Woking a happy 'Id. He made special mention of the Indian flag which was proudly flying outside one of the entrances of the marquee and represented the 40,000,000 Muslims in the Indian Union. This flag was a present from Her Excellency Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner.

In his sermon Dr. 'Abdullah said: "We are assembled here . . . to celebrate the 'Id al-Fitr . . . the festival of the breaking of the fast. . . . The institution of fasting is not new to mankind . . . (But) it goes to the credit of Islam to have given an entirely new orientation and significance to the purpose of fasting. . . . Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily

a spiritual discipline. . . . In addition to the spiritual and moral values, fasting has also a social value. . . .

"Here today . . . over fifteen hundred people representing about twenty different nationalities coming from all four corners of the world have joined together in a most fraternal atmosphere and real brotherly and sisterly feeling."

At the end he said: "I wish you a very happy 'Id. May God bless you all and be with you."

After the sermon the Arab Legion soldiers again started playing. But this time the soldiers formed a circle and demonstrated some Arab dances as well. The effect of the music and dances on the people was indescribable.

One thing which one cannot help mentioning is the clock-like accuracy with which everything took place. As soon as the sermon was over the microphone was taken over by a very ardent and sincere British Muslim, Major J. W. B. Faruq Farmer. His duty for the past few years has been to feed the "Id crowd". His voice over the loudspeaker called for lady volunteers to serve the food and asked everyone to leave the marquee. His experience has taught him how to get things done. With the help of a couple of Muslim ladies and men volunteers he laid 60 tables and 500 chairs inside the marquee and fed approximately 1,700 guests. All this was done in ninety minutes, i.e., seventeen people were fed in one minute. Major Faruq Farmer is still not satisfied with this. With more co-operation he hopes to do everything in an hour. Without his help it would be extremely difficult for the Imam to arrange for the luncheon, and indeed his co-operation is very much appreciated by friends of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust.

After a delicious meal of Pulao and curry, the majority of the guests left for their homes, although a few stayed behind. Thus, in brief, ended a day of rejoicing of Muslims at Woking.

This also is a description of what a man dreamt forty years ago.

ACTIVITIES OF THE WOKING MUSLIM MISSION AND LITERARY TRUST

Lecture at Bournemouth

Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, gave a talk to the members of the Muslim Society of the Bournemouth Municipal College on Friday 1st April 1955. The Imam spoke on "Democracy in Islam" and dealt with its various aspects such as the political, social, intellectual, economic and spiritual, and showed how Islam had welded all these various aspects of our lives into one compact whole without any water-tight compartments. Dr. 'Abdullah emphasized that Islam aimed at a well-balanced and co-ordinated life as one unit, and that in Islam religion was not considered as an appendix but formed the very basis of our life, and was a way of life governing the entire life of a Muslim. Tea was served before the lecture, which was followed by a very interesting discussion in the form of questions and answers.

"Why do we fast?"

This was the title of the subject of an address given by Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, at the London Headquarters of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust on Saturday 16th April 1955, at 5 p.m. The speaker, after dealing with the history of the institution of fasting in various religious systems, mentioned the rules and regulations which governed fasting from the Islamic point of view. Finally, he took up the various aspects of fasting such as the physical, the social, the moral and the spiritual, and gave facts and figures proving the great value

of fasting in all these various aspects of our lives. The lecture was followed by a very interesting and lively discussion. The meeting was presided over by a prominent Indian Muslim, Mr. S. M. Jetha, and was opened by a recitation from the Holy Qur'an by Mr. Hazim Satric.

On this occasion Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, the Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque, also solemnized the marriage of Mr. 'Abdul Malik (an Indonesian) and Miss Lucette Marguerite Paga (a French Muslimah), which was followed by tea. The bride and bridegroom were greeted by the audience and the Imam lifted his hands and prayed for the prosperity and happiness of the couple. The parents of the bride had travelled from France to attend the ceremony of their daughter's wedding.

Polygamous marriage and British National Health Insurance Benefits

A very interesting and important point of law which affects the welfare of Muslims living in England is being discussed by the British Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance. The law regulating the National Health Insurance benefits for maternity cases excludes polygamous marriage. Accordingly, a Commissioner of National Health Insurance gave the ruling that as Muslims believed in polygamous marriages, their wives should not be entitled to the maternity benefit. The validity of this ruling was questioned by a Pakistani Muslim whose wife was refused the National Health Insurance benefits simply because she belonged to Islam, which permits polygamy under abnormal and excep-

tional circumstances. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Mosque, was asked to appear before the Commissioner's Court and give evidence on the marriage law of Islam.

World Congress of Faiths, London

The World Congress of Faiths held its annual service at Kingsway House Church on 11th May 1955 at 7.30 p.m. The main speaker was Her Excellency the High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom. Dr. S. M. 'Abdullah, Imam of the Mosque, also participated and represented Islam. It was a very solemn and successful service.

Over 300 people representing about six different religious denominations participated.

Golders Green Young Zionist Society

Mr. Iqbal Ahmad, of the Woking Muslim Mission and Literary Trust, gave a talk on "Islam" to the Young Zionist Society at 11 Golders Green Crescent, London, N.W.11, on 17th May 1955, which organized a series of lectures on comparative religion. The speaker in the beginning made a reference to that famous incident in Jewish history when

King Antiochus Epiphany brutally murdered a Jewish widow and her seven sons, because they had refused to taste the flesh of swine. These famous martyrs of Jewish faith happily accepted death, saying that they were dying for the law of God. The spirit of this incident, the speaker remarked, was contained in the Arabic word "Muslim" — "one who submits himself to the law of God".

In talking about the misunderstandings that are found in the West about Islam, the speaker said that the West was now learning the true facts about Islam, a proof of which was that an article had recently appeared in the *Reader's Digest*, London, for May, the title of which was "Islam: The Misunderstood Religion".

Mr. Ahmad allowed questions after the lecture. The audience was anxious to know why the Muslims attached so much importance to the Prophet Muhammad, when the Qur'an required a Muslim to make no distinction between any of the prophets, and they appeared very much perturbed when the speaker remarked that in the Old Testament God was only of the Israelites, whereas the Qur'an said that God was the Lord of the whole of mankind.



AN AFRICAN INTERPRETS THE PAST HISTORY OF HIS CONTINENT

AFRICAN GLORY — The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations. By J. C. de Graft-Johnson. Watts & Co., London, 1954.

In the past there have been many histories of North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa by European authorities who have tended to belittle the Muslims and the pagans and to maintain that the European rulers started from scratch. They have naturally played down the disgraceful origins of Western imperialism in West Africa, namely the slave trade, and they still take delight in accusing the Muslims and East Africans in Ethiopia and Sa'udi Arabia of indulging in slave traffic, as if the Muslims were the originators of slavery. One may, for instance, mention that the French historians have for years played up the Berbers against the Arabs and have minimized the effect of Islam and Arab civilization in North Africa, although some of the writers such as the Englishman, Stanley Lane-Poole and other Europeans, have been honourable exceptions. Of late, North African Muslims such as the *Shaikhs* — Ibn Badis (Algeria), Tha'alibi (Tunisia) — and Mr. Tewfik al-Madani (Algeria), together with a number of Moroccans, have rewritten the history of North Africa. These Muslim Arabic-speaking scholars, naturally enough, have laid the emphasis on Islam and on the Arabs. To these historians now one can add the name of a West African scholar, who unveils to us the mistaken view, generally held, that the Negro is a person who has no history worth recording. Dr. Johnson brings home to his readers the fact that it is incorrect to believe that the Negro invented nothing and contributed nothing to world culture and civilization. Dr. de Graft-Johnson, who has written a short but fascinating history from the standpoint of the West

Africans, tells us that all the empires in Africa were founded by the Negroes, especially such empires as those of the al-Muwahhids and al-Murabitin of North Africa. The author who is a Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Edinburgh, comes from Accra in the Gold Coast. His book has a special importance for Muslims.

In dealing with the early conquests of North Africa by the Carthaginians and Romans, Dr. Johnson says that neither did completely affect the pacification of North Africa. In his attitude towards the Arab-Muslim conquest he adopts a point of view which is midway between the French point of view and the modern North African. But his view regarding the origin of the Berbers does differ from that of the North African nationalist of today such as the great Moroccan nationalist, Mr. 'Allal al-Fasi, who considers that the Berbers are of Canaanite or Asian origin. Dr. Johnson tells of the Africans as if to imply that they stood apart from the Semitic-Hamitic races of Arab-Egyptians. This idea he develops when he praises the resistance of Kuseila, king of Mauretania and the Berber queen, Dahia-al-Kahina, as "one of the most resolute attempts to keep Africa for the Africans". The queen was killed by the troops of the great Arab general Hasan Ibn Nu'man in 705 C.E. About the conquest of Spain by the Arabs he says "it was an African conquest. They were Mohammedan African, not Arabs, who laid low the Gothic Kingdom of Spain". But he also admits that the Arabs conquered chiefly by their faith after the preliminary conquest by the sword. Although the Berbers did produce a great leader, in Aguellid Massinissa in the time of Hannibal, it should be clear to the author that they would never have conquered Spain or built up a flourishing civilization on their own. But to indulge in the speculation as to what would have happened to India without the Muslim conquest or America without the British occupation or

Britain without the Anglo-Saxon Conquest is now somewhat futile. The fact is that the Berbers conquered Spain because they had come under the influence of Islam.

Dr. Johnson is at his best when he describes the vanished African civilizations of West Africa, the Ghana Kingdom and Empire (300-1076, C.E.), the Mali Empire (1238-1488) and the Songhai Empire (1488-1591). The author informs us that the Ghana Empire, which was situated in Southern Morocco and Senegal, owed its prosperity to its gold. It was conquered in 1076 C.E., by the al-Murabitin's army from Morocco, who according to Dr. Johnson, sprung from the descendents of the Lemtuna tribe, such as Tarsina who became a Muslim and changed his name to 'Abdulla Abu Muhammad. His tribe and several other tribes which lived on the Senegal river, and to the north of it, combined together about 1020 C.E. against the Ghana empire. Tarsina's son, Yahia Ibn Ibrahim, after his pilgrimage to Mecca, went to Kairowan from which place he brought a learned man, 'Abdullah Ibn Yasin, to Senegal to teach the people about Islam. Both these men retired to a *ribat* or monastery on a small island in the Senegal river. Hence the word al-Murabitin which, in its Spanish corruption, Almoravid, has become associated with this movement. Yahia and Ibn Yasin after building up a following entered upon the conquest of the non-Muslims, the Western Sahara. Yahia who died in 1056 was succeeded by his brother, Abu Bakr after the death of Ibn Yasin in 1059. Abu Bakr directed his energies to the conquest of the South, whereas his cousin, Yusuf Ibn Tashifin, who was left in charge in Morocco, extended the al-Murabitin empire throughout Algeria and Tunisia and Spain. When Abu Bakr returned he found that Yusuf refused to surrender control to Abu Bakr. The al-Murabitin empire lasted about a hundred years and was succeeded by another known as the "Empire of Two Shores" stretching from the Senegal river to the Ebro in Spain. This was the Almohade (*al-Muwahhid*) or Senegalese Empire, founded by an African Muslim religious leader, Ibn Tumert. "The Almohade Empire has been described by some writers as the greatest of the African empires". The Almohades were responsible for some of the greatest building of Muslim architecture — the Tower of Hasan in Rabat, the Giralda in Seville and the Koutoubiya in Marrakesh. To support this the author describes Spain's cultural indebtedness to the African Muslims.

Dr. Johnson further builds up his thesis by introducing his reader to the Mali and the Songhai Empires in the eleventh century.

Sumanguru, the pagan king of the Susu Kingdom, a vassal State of the Ghana Empire, revolted and captured Ghana in 1203 and drove out the Muslims. He also waged a war against the Mali Kingdom as a result which, in 1235, he was killed in a battle by Sundiata or Mari Jata, the ruler of Mali, a Muslim. Sundiata extended the Mali Empire to Kano in modern Nigeria, to Gambia and Katsina and Zaria. His son, Mansa or Sultan Ule, visited Mecca. In describing the rise of the Mali Empire, the author tells us about Mansa Musa "whose name became a legend in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Mansa Musa ascended the throne of the Mali Empire in 1307, later Mansa Musa, journeyed to Mecca in 1324 in a caravan consisting of 60,000 people.

Dr. Johnson describes Mansa Musa as "the man who came nearest to building a united Africa." E. W. Bovill, an English writer, notes that his Empire was "a striking example of the capacity of the Negro for political organization."

Timbuktu remained under Mali domination until 1433 when it was captured by the Twaregs and recaptured by the

Songhai ruler, Sonne 'Ali, in 1468. He rebuilt the Songhai Empire. His lieutenant, Askia, known as Askia Muhammad I or Askia the First, who later ruled over the empire for thirty-five years, was one of the greatest of all Muslim African rulers. Askia Muhammad built up the largest African empire and formed a well-organized government and made Sankore one of the greatest universities in the world as well as transforming Walata, Gao and Timbuktu and Djenne into university towns. Islam spread rapidly under his influence. In 1498 he performed the Hajj and was apparently created Caliph of Songhai with the title of Askia Muhammad al-Hajj. He loved men of learning and respected the enjoyment of civil liberties and protected the minorities with his permanent army. He appointed governors. His adviser was the Moroccan reformer, Er Merhili. Of him, Dr. Johnson says, "Askia knew the true meaning of religious tolerance, for though he himself was a Mohammedan, he never displayed the religious fanaticism which had hitherto been associated with Islam". This observation of Dr. Johnson betrays his depth of knowledge of Islam. The truth is that Askia displayed religious tolerance simply because he was a Muslim. Askia extended agriculture by the sinking of well. In 1528 he ceded power to his sons who behaved disgracefully and exiled him to a mosquito-infested island on the Niger. He died in Gao in 1542 after returning from exile a year before. In 1591 the Songhai ruler, Askia Ishak II, was defeated by the Moroccan army of Judar Pasha, the general of the Sultan Mulay Ahmad al-Mansur. The Moroccans, whose guns utterly defeated the Songhai troops and sealed the fate of the West African Empires. The Moroccans remained in Timbuktu till 1737. By this time the Songhai period of prosperity was over and disintegration set in.

This is an excellent book, very stimulating and original and enables one to correct one's views about Africans. The book is the story of Negro civilizations. It should be read by all those who believe that Negro history begins with the colonization of lands inhabited by "savages" who had lived in the same primitive fashion from time immemorial. Dr. Johnson tells us of the empires of Western Africa which attained a level of civilization comparable to any in the world. The book has an excellent bibliography on the subject.

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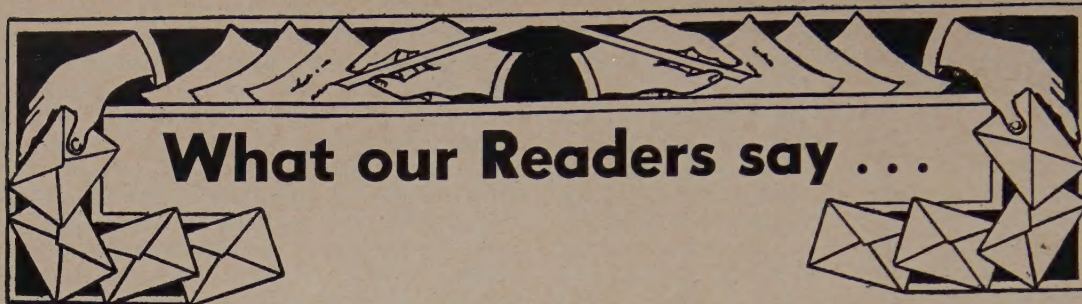
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AN INDONESIAN SPEAKS TO MUSLIMS

Sekretariat,
"Badan Kongres Muslimin Indonesia"
(All-Indonesian Muslim Congress),
Karamat No. 45,
Djakarta, Indonesia.
22nd June 1955.

Dear brother-in-Islam,

Assalamu 'alaikum

The Islamic Review in its efforts to spread the teachings of Islam is known throughout the Muslim world. As a matter of fact, it has enlightened public opinion, especially among the peoples of Europe and America, the majority of whom have scanty knowledge of Islam, and their views have been distorted and misled by mischievous propagandists whose aim is to vilify the Prophet and destroy Islam.

Unless we work wholeheartedly with a singleness of purpose to spread the religion of God, we cannot expect to convince peoples who are totally ignorant of the true teachings of our religion, as they have been from time immemorial misled by distortions originating from hostile persons, whose aim in life is and has been to destroy the light of truth. As the Qur'an points out: "They are anxious to put out the light of God with their mouths, but God will not permit, and He shall perfect His light, though the unbelievers may be averse to it" (9:32).

After the emergence of the two biggest Muslim countries — Pakistan and Indonesia — as independent States, the power of Islamic people will be felt sooner or later, and the light of Islam, *Insha Allah*, will shine more and more in its splendour throughout the world.

Once a man comes within the fold of Islam, he becomes a brother unto the millions of that brotherhood. The very essence of Islam is brotherhood of all Muslims. Although there are more than 450,000,000 Muslims in the world, how many of them understand the Holy Qur'an? Not even 5 per cent of them understand it! If only 3 per cent of them understood and acted according to its teachings, the conditions of the Muslims would be radically changed. If we Muslims want to be respected, prosperous and admired by the world, we must work hard to make the Muslims become real Muslims.

If the Muslims want Islam to be recognized by the world as a potential factor in establishing real peace and prosperity, the educated and well-to-do Muslims should use their resources to the utmost to make known the teachings of Islam to all parts of the world, especially to Europe and the Americas. We must be up and doing, especially our youngsters, who should study comparative religions and equip themselves with up-to-date knowledge to convince non-Muslims that Islam is a progressive religion, and is the only religion which can establish real peace and brotherhood of humanity in the true sense of the term.

Greed, lust for power, hatred, malice, superiority complex, getting rich quickly and luxuries of life, are inherent in the vast majority of mankind, and these evils have made them selfish and devoid of feeling for the sufferings of their fellow men. How are we to discard such evils? Do you think Communism, Socialism, anarchism, humanism, or any other "ism", can be the real panacea for the ills and evils of Muslim society? Socialism and Communism can no doubt improve to a great extent our social life of today, but they cannot eradicate many cankerous evils in society.

How puny and unreal are the doctrines founded by human beings when compared with the one revealed by the Most High — the religion of truth, Islam — in order that happiness, prosperity, peace, and, above all, brotherly affection, should prevail in the life of the everwarring humanity. The time has come for all the inhabitants of the globe, whether they be black, white, yellow or brown, to consider themselves as one great family. The Holy Qur'an

declares: "Verily the brotherhood of man is a single brotherhood" (22:92). Further, the Holy Qur'an points out: "Mankind was a single nation but men later created differences" (10:19).

Islam instils into the minds of its followers that there is no superiority of birth, colour, race or nationality. In the eyes of God all men are equal and have an equal status. Of all the religions in the world, Islam alone lays the emphasis on actions and deeds. The individual responsibility of one's actions and deeds is inculcated through the pages of the Holy Qur'an. As a matter of fact, it is one of the fundamental teachings of Islam that goes to the root of human conduct and is the basis of Islamic society and morality. The Qur'an states categorically: "If you did well, it is for your own good, and if you did evil, you did it against your own soul" (17:7). Again the Holy Qur'an says: "Whosoever goes right, it is only for the good of his own soul, and whosoever goes astray does for the loss of his own soul. None can bear the burden of another" (17:15).

Would you kindly give me the addresses of Muslim organizations and associations all over the world, to enable me to contact them, and I hope the results will be mutually advantageous.

On behalf of the All-Indonesian Muslim Congress, which represents the overwhelming majority of the 75,000,000 Muslims in Indonesia, I convey to you and to your readers our greetings and good wishes.

In conclusion, let us hope and expect that every Muslim will by his conduct try to prove himself, like his great Prophet, a mercy to all creation of God.

With best wishes and kind regards,

I am, yours fraternally,

Dr. ALI AKBAR,
General Secretary.

POLYGAMY IN ISLAM

16 Grace Street,
Goodwood Park,
Adelaide,
South Australia.
5th May 1955.

Dear Sir,

It is high time it was said that some of us Muslims were bringing into disrepute the religion of Islam by having a number of wives. We Muslims should study the Qur'an and the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad on the institution of marriage. I beg leave to quote here the Qur'an and Traditions of the Prophet which may help to bring home to some Muslims the true position of polygamy in Islam.

One verse of the Qur'an reads: "I will not waste the work of a worker among you, whether male or female, the one of you being from the other" (3:194).

As I understand this verse, it shows that both man and woman are on a par with one another. But some Muslims, especially those who are occupying responsible positions, in my opinion seem to disregard this verse. The Qur'an is the word of God, Who sent it through His Messenger, Muhammad, as a guidance to unity and justice to the believers. The above verse can be supplemented by a Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, who says, "I am married; whoever inclines to any other way than my way is not of me". From this it is quite clear that although Islam regards married life as the normal life, this does not mean that we Muslims by our actions should give a bad example by setting up harems. The idea underlying the institution of marriage is to save human beings from sin and immorality — not to set up harems.

I cannot help saying that the Muslims of today are not living up to the standard set up by the Qur'an.

Yours sincerely,

RAMADAN 'ABDULOVIC.

WHAT IS ISLAM?

THE following is a very brief account of Islam and some of its teachings. For further details, please write to the IMAM of the Mosque, Woking, Surrey, England.

ISLAM: THE RELIGION OF PEACE.—The word "Islam" literally means: (1) peace; (2) the way to achieve peace; (3) submission, as submission to another's will is the safest course to establish peace. The word in its religious sense signifies complete submission to the Will of God.

OBJECT OF THE RELIGION.—Islam provides its followers with a perfect code, whereby they may work out what is noble and good in man, and thus maintain peace between man and man.

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM.—Muhammad, popularly known as the Prophet of Islam, was, however, the last of the Prophets. Muslims, i.e., the followers of Islam, accept all such prophets of the world, including Abraham, Moses and Jesus, as revealed by the Will of God for the guidance of humanity.

THE QUR'AN.—The Gospel of the Muslims is the Qur'an. Muslims believe in the Divine origin of every other sacred book. Inasmuch as all such previous revelations have become corrupted through human interpolation, the Qur'an, the last Book of God, came as a recapitulation of the former Gospels.

ARTICLES OF FAITH IN ISLAM.—These are seven in number: Belief in (1) God; (2) Angels; (3) Books from God; (4) Messengers from God; (5) the Hereafter; (6) the Premeasurement of good and evil; (7) Resurrection after death.

The life after death, according to Islamic teaching, is not a new life, but only a continuance of this life, bringing its hidden realities into light. It is a life of unlimited progress; those who qualify themselves in this life for the progress will enter into Paradise, which is another name for the said progressive life after death, and those who get their faculties stunted by their misdeeds in this life will be the denizens of the Hell—a life incapable of appreciating heavenly bliss, and of torment—in order to get themselves purged of all impurities and thus to become fit for the life in the Heaven. State after death is an image of the spiritual state in this life.

The sixth article of Faith has been confused by some with what is popularly known as Fatalism. A Muslim neither believes in Fatalism nor Predestination; he believes in Premeasurement. Everything created by God is for good in the given use and under the given circumstances. Its abuse is evil and suffering.

PILLARS OF ISLAM.—These are five in number: (1) Declaration of faith in the Oneness of God, and in the Divine Messengership of Muhammad; (2) Prayer; (3) Fasting; (4) Alms-giving (5) Pilgrimage of the Holy Shrine at Mecca.

ATTRIBUTES OF GOD.—The Muslims worship One God — the Almighty, the All-Knowing, the All-Just, the Cherisher of All the worlds, the Friend, the Helper. There is none like Him. He has

no partner. He is neither begotten nor has He begotten any son or daughter. He is indivisible in Person. He is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Glorious, the Magnificent, the Beautiful, the Eternal, the Infinite, the First and the Last.

FAITH AND ACTION.—Faith without action is a dead letter. Faith by itself is insufficient, unless translated into action. A Muslim believes in his own personal accountability for his actions in this life and the Hereafter. Each must bear his own burden and none can expiate for another's sin.

ETHICS OF ISLAM.—"Imbue yourself with Divine Attributes," says the noble Prophet. God is the prototype of man, and His Attributes form the basis of Muslim ethics. Righteousness in Islam consists in leading a life in complete harmony with the Divine Attributes. To act otherwise is sin.

CAPABILITIES OF MAN IN ISLAM.—The Muslim believes in the inherent sinlessness of man's nature, which, made of the goodliest fibre, is capable of unlimited progress, setting him above the angels, and leading him to the border of Divinity.

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN ISLAM.—Man and woman come from the same essence, possess the same soul, and they have been equipped with equal capability for intellectual, spiritual and moral attainments. Islam places man and woman under the like obligations the one to the other.

EQUALITY OF MANKIND AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF ISLAM.—Islam is the religion of the Unity of God and the equality of mankind. Lineage, riches and family honours are accidental things: virtue and the service of humanity are matters of real merit. Distinctions of colour, race and creed are unknown in the ranks of Islam. All mankind is of one family, and Islam has succeeded in welding the black and the white into one fraternal whole.

PERSONAL JUDGEMENT.—Islam encourages the exercise of personal judgement and respects difference of opinion which, according to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, is a blessing of God.

KNOWLEDGE.—The pursuit of knowledge is a duty in Islam, and it is the acquisition of knowledge that makes men superior to angels.

SANCTITY OF LABOUR.—Every labour which enables man to live honestly is respected. Idleness is deemed a sin.

CHARITY.—All the faculties of man have been given to him as a trust from God for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. It is man's duty to live for others, and his charities must be applied without any distinction of persons. Charity in Islam brings man nearer to God. Charity and the giving of alms have been made obligatory, and every person who possesses property above a certain limit has to pay a tax, levied on the rich for the benefit of the poor.

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